



Ulrich Middeldorf



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O N

I T A L Y

AND ITS INHABITANTS.

WRITTEN IN FRENCH

BY TWO SWEDISH GENTLEMEN.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY THOMAS NUGENT, L. L. D.

AND FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY

OF ANTIQUARIES.

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O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N

I T A L Y.

R O M E.

ANCIENT and modern Rome have been the object of so many disquisitions, investigations and surveys, that all farther discoveries seem to be at an end: the whole however is not yet exhausted. I shall hazard some considerations on certain objects, which have either escaped curiosity, or which I shall examine in a new light, and to avoid confusion shall distribute them under distinct titles. But these considerations, like all those in which I have indulged myself in the course of this work, are, to use the words of a French writer*, “Not the measure of the things, “but the measure of my sight.”

* Montaigne, L. ii. c. 10.

At every step in Rome, you meet with some monuments, or some ruins, relative to facts the more interesting, as on them it was that the eyes of the mind became opened in its earliest studies.

Rome is the first world that was known to us, and a world to the embellishment of which history, eloquence, poetry, and all the most ornamental arts, have emulously exerted themselves; *civitas, in qua nemo hospes nisi Barbarus (a)*; a city, where they only are strangers who are strangers to literature, and to all knowledge either serious or polite; and who never heard *di quelli Omaccioni che vi habitarono, di quei Republiconi liberi, sinceri e d'animo veramente Romano**, of those great men, of those free honest and bold republicans, whose souls were intirely Roman. *Movemur enim, nescio quo pacto*, said Cicero, *locis ipsis in quibus eorum quos admiramur adsunt vestigia (b.)*

Indeed, where is that imagination which is not affected at the first sight of that capital, so long

(a) Cicero used to say of Athens, *Quicumque ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus. De Fin. L. v.*

* Annibal Caro Litter.

(b) "I have," said Montaigne, "seen elsewhere edifices in ruins, and statues both of gods and men defaced; and yet I cannot without wonder and veneration behold the sepulchre of this once so large and potent a city. I was acquainted with the affairs of Rome long before I knew any thing of those of my own family. I had the Capitol and its whole figure in my mind, when the Louvre was quite unknown to me, and had heard of the Tiber before the Seine. My thoughts have run more on the condition and fortunes
" of

long the seat of universal empire, to which were led in triumph the kings and the spoils of those nations who now think themselves invincible, and which still in many respects is possessed of the empire, and of the eternity, annexed to the destiny of Rome! The modern Capitol, in its present appearance, has been erected on the foundations of the ancient. Michael Angelo, the author of the plan, has spread all over the three bodies of the structure, their accompaniments and avenues, that grandeur and majesty, by which such an edifice should be distinguished.

The night which followed the *posseſſo*, I ſaw all the outward parts of theſe buildings illuminated in the Roman manner; that is, with flambeaux of white wax. The halls, the ſquare and its avenues,

“ of Lucullus, Metellus, and Scipio, than of any of my own
 “ countrymen.—Finding myſelf uſeleſs to this age, I recur
 “ to that other, and am ſo taken with it, that this old Rome,
 “ in its free, juſt, and flouriſhing ſtate, (for neither am I de-
 “ lighted with its infancy or old age) affects and warms me,
 “ ſo that I cannot ſee the ſituation of their ſtreets and houſes,
 “ and thoſe ancient ruins reaching to the very antipodes,
 “ without all the powers of my ſoul being ſtirred. I am
 “ charmed when I view the countenance of thoſe Romans,
 “ their attitude, and their garb. I rumin ate thoſe great
 “ names to myſelf, and make my ears ring with them.

“ *Ego illos veneror, et tantis nominibus aſſurgo.*

“ —Of things in ſome meaſure great and admirable I ad-
 “ mire even what is common. I break out into wiſhes that
 “ I could ſee them converſe, walk and ſup together. It would
 “ be ingratitude to overlook the remains and images of ſo
 “ many perſons, ſo eminent for virtue and courage, whom I
 “ have ſeen born and die, and who ſet us ſo many good ex-
 “ amples did we but mind them.” B. iii. c. 9.

swarmed with people from the city and the neighbouring country, whom the ceremony had drawn to Rome. The descendants of the Sabines, of the Equi, of the Volsci, &c. were there with their children and wives, in all their finery and peculiar dresses, very becoming and smart, and in infinite variety; all animated with that free open hilarity, little of which is to be found among the people of Rome, nor in general among the inhabitants of cities; and making up to those whom they thought most able to explain to them the fine things which they saw, and most of them for the first time; almost all of a fine stature, well shaped, and in their air and carriage that pleasing ease and freedom, which in the Italian ladies is generally stifled by art, *tametsi bona est Natura**.

By the illuminations, the two wings along the square of the Capitol appeared to me not precisely perpendicular to the main body from which they are detached: it seemed as if, at their extremities facing the town, they inclined towards the square, these extremities intercepting the sight of the illumination. This slight irregularity I had not perceived by day light. The architect, to be sure, was forced to it by the irregularity of the ground; or perhaps it might only be an optical deception.

I had heard, and had even read in some accounts, that the Capitoline mount is at present almost on a level with the ground of Rome; and so it is, as to that part which faces the Forum Romanum, or Campo Vaccino. This part, which

* Terent. *Eunuchus*.

was made of the *substructiones* attributed to Tarquin, has been lowered, and the ground of the Forum greatly raised, so that they now communicate by a very gentle slope. The true Tarpeian rock still retains a great part of its ancient steepness : it forms the outlet from the square between the right wing of the modern Capitol and the main body. This outlet leads to the banks of the Tiber by a rugged declivity, and so steep as scarce to be ascended without the help of one's hands. In a word, though the ground at the bottom be raised, any one thrown down from it would have good luck to escape with his life.

AUGUSTUS'S MAUSOLEUM.

That any part of Augustus's mausoleum still remains visible, is owing to its solidity : *mole sua stat*. In its circular form, and position with regard to the Tiber, it was like Adrian's mausoleum, now the castle of St. Angelo. The pyramids of Egypt gave the Romans their first ideas of those huge funeral monuments, in the greater part of which they had likewise adopted the pyramidal form : Augustus, we may suppose, thought the circular more analogous to the majesty of the sovereigns of the universe.

The *rudera* of this mausoleum shew it to have been an edifice not less grand than solid. The whole carcass is still existing in a round tower about forty feet diameter ; the walls of which, in a part of the external surface, are still incrusted with those stones, placed lozenge-wise, which the ancients called *Opus reticulatum*. The inside of this tower is every where perpendicular and of a

piece ; whereas the outside is still divided into two stories, the first with a double wall of a prodigious thickness. The projecture of this wall was unquestionably a soccle, or basis to the columns appertaining to the second story, which perhaps was of a slighter construction, and only with pilasters, of which no manner of vestiges are now remaining. The wall of this second story, which is still of a considerable height, is crowned with a continual arbour, and shaded by some vines planted within the monument. The grapes of this vineyard, which was originally planted with the muscadel vines of Alexandria (*c*), were then completely ripe. On this terrace I used to go and entertain myself with the prospect of Rome, and the country under the cannon of St. Angelo, and whilst eating of this excellent fruit I meditated on the vanity of human grandeur.

It would be very difficult to decide from the present condition of the places, whether the inside of this monument was distributed into niches for the urns in which were to be deposited the ashes of a family, which Augustus, to be sure, flattered himself was to partake of the supposed eternity of his empire : if so, its inward disposition must have been the same as that of the Columbarium (*d*) in the Appian road, which was the receptacle for the ashes of all the freedmen of the Augustan family. I have already said that the inward wall is, throughout its whole circumference, perpen-

(*c*) These produce a grape which the Italians highly prize, and call it *Uva*.

(*d*) It was discovered in the beginning of this century, and M. Bianchini has given a learned description of it.

dicular and smooth; but at the foot of this wall, and under its double thickness, were vaults, still intire, and every where varnished with a kind of cement or red mastic, which has lost nothing either in its solidity, or the gloss of its colour. These vaults, once perhaps the dormitories of the Marcelli, the Germanici, the Agrippæ, the Drusi, the Liviaæ, the Octaviaæ, and the first Cæsars, that is, of some of the greatest personages ever known in the whole universe, now is a lay-stall for the dung and all other filth used in manuring the garden which has been made within the monument.

The artists in building the mausoleum had, by way of distinction, a tomb for them in its neighbourhood, where has been found this inscription:

D. M.

ULPIO MARTIALI,

AUG. LIB. A MARMORIBUS.

I am surpris'd that some antiquaries should have been so far mistaken, as to make any other monument than this mausoleum the tomb intended by Virgil in these beautiful lines in the sixth book of the *Æneid*:

*Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus, vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, cum tumulum præterlabere ruentem!*

First, this mausoleum faced the Campus Martius, which in Augustus's time was still without the circuit of Rome. Secondly, it was between the Tiber and the Flaminian road which crossed the

Campus Martius. Thirdly, Augustus, according to Suetonius, had begun it in his sixth consulship; and Marcellus died in the eleventh consulship of his uncle, who reckoned his intermediate consulships by the years: now, supposing the building of this mausoleum to have taken up four or five years, it had been just finished when Marcellus died.

On beholding these august ruins, the place of the Scipios tomb, the remains of the funeral monuments of so many heroes who raised Rome to such power and glory, it is natural for the mind to fall into that reflection, which they produced in Lucretius,

*Tu verò dubitabis et indignabere obire,
Mortua cui vita est jam vivo et pænè videnti*.*

OBELISKS.

Near the entrance of Augustus's mausoleum stood two obelisks, of which Sixtus V. caused one to be removed, and set up facing the north front of Santa Maria Maggiore: the other is said to be still buried under the rubbish by which the ground of Rome has been so prodigiously raised, especially in this part. They were without hieroglyphics, and doubtless the very same which, as Pliny informs us, were by Augustus's order cut in the quarries of Upper Egypt.

The many monuments of this kind brought from Egypt to Rome, but afterwards thrown down from their pedestals, and the greater part of them since set up again by Sixtus V. are the

* Lucret. L. iii.

most singular tokens of the grandeur of this ancient capital of the universe. I thought it very strange that most of them should have been placed in the lobbies of the largest edifices, the proximity of which buries them and destroys a great part of their effect. The only one retaining its proper place is that in the square Del Popolo: the like advantages lay open to others; they should have been distributed in the several squares of Rome.

I have had a very close view of that obelisk which Augustus, in the beginning of his reign, erected to the Sun in the centre of the Campus Martius. Being thrown down together with its base, it had for several ages lain buried under ruins, and afterwards under houses built among those ruins. To some it was part of the foundation; to others it was the cellar wall; and in several it had been a chimney back or hearth, by which last use, of course, all the parts exposed to the fire for ages have been defaced. At last, Benedict XIV. clearing it of all these incumbrances, had a design of setting it up again: it is broken in four places; a common misfortune to those which Sixtus V. restored to their honour. To repair the calcined part is a difficulty which Sixtus the Vth's architect had not to deal with: this however may perhaps be answered by a new polish and veneering.

The hieroglyphics still visible on all the sound parts are in rilievo, though at first sight they seem *intagliatas*; the space taken up by each figure being so grooved, that the most prominent parts of the rilievo are lower than the surface of the block in which they seem en-

chased;

chased; an expedient, no doubt, contrived for securing these parts of the relievo from the frictions which those enormous masses must have undergone in the several operations for the transportation of them, raising them on the pedestals, &c. These hieroglyphics, it must be observed, are of a most excellent workmanship.

Near the obelisk of the Campus Martius lies its base, an enormous cube of the same granite as the obelisk, and on it an inscription in Roman letters, in the most exact proportion; but the inscription itself is quite plain and artless, saying little more than that Augustus, AIGVPTO CAPTA, dedicated that monument to the Sun. I felt a pleasure in viewing this basis and its inscription, from considering that Virgil, Horace, and all the great men and wits of Augustus's court, had once been taken up with the same object.

EMPEROR's PALACE.

The palace which so many emperors had embellished and enriched is now totally buried under its ruins, so that the surface of it is only a park planted with yews and cypresses. That it still covers inestimable treasures, there is the more reason to believe, as it is the place which of all others has been the least searched. This ground belongs to the house of Farnese, as a fief conferred by Paul III. on his son Peter Lewis Farnese. This mine of riches, whether from negligence or the jealousy of its proprietors, lay untouched till the year 1720. From the discoveries then made, M. Bianchini formed his *History of the Palace of the*
Cæsars,

Cæsars, published in 1738. The two colossuses, now in the gardens of Colorno, were part of those discoveries (*e.*)

I have heard at Rome, that it was among these ruins M. Bianchini met with the unhappy accident mentioned in the eulogium of that gentleman by M. Fontenelle, who, it may be presumed, had not a true account of the following particulars of it. M. Bianchini, not less estimable for his piety than his extensive knowledge, had presided over the works and discoveries carried on in the year 1720. The cessation of these works only whetted his inclination for enlarging those discoveries; and prompted by his ardent desire, he used to frequent these ruins, attended by his servant, who with a pick-axe explored such places as seemed the most promising. Whilst busied in a spot where the founding of the surface denoted a large cavity, the ground gave way under him, so that he fell perpendicularly into a subterraneous place; on the edges of which he was kept up by his elbows without his feet reaching the ground: his age, stature, and repletiness, allowing him but little agility, his efforts, and those of his servant to get him up, only widened the aperture, and broke away the support on which his elbows rested. In this extremity, M. Bianchini, undaunted at the apparent certainty of his fate, repeated the prayers for these who are at the point of death; and his servant being at length quite spent, he fell

(*e.*) In an oblong square of one hundred and fifty feet to one hundred, answering to the northern front of the palace, were many such statues.

from

from the height of about thirty feet on a heap of rubbish: here he called out that he was not hurt, asking for a light that he might improve this accident: accordingly he found himself in a vast salon with fresco paintings. All his hurt seemed only a very slight contusion, but the consequences carried him to his grave within two years.

The imperial palace stood on the south-west side of the Forum Romanum, which eastward was terminated by Titus's triumphal arch, which to this day forms one of its outlets. On the interior face of one of the pillars of this arch is represented the candlestick with seven branches, which among other spoils from Jerusalem had adorned Titus's triumph on that signal occasion. The Jewish quarter being near this monument, they, to save themselves the afflictive sight of such an object, have purchased of the government the privilege of opening a narrow passage, which sideways from the arch opens a communication between their quarter and the Forum Romanum, or Campo Vaccino. I have seen some persons so void of sentiment and justice, as to sneer at that unhappy people for a delicacy, arising from those rare and sublime principles, which dictated the psalm *Super flumina-Babylonis*.

Opposite to the ruins of the emperor's palace, and on the north-east side of the Campo Vaccino, are those of the Temple of Peace. Some large roofs, which make the most considerable part of these ruins, have been walled in towards the Campo, and are now the receptacle

or staple for the horned cattle, of which the Campo is the market. Thus the Forum Romanum is returned exactly to the very same condition in which Æneas found it on his coming to Evander.

*Passim armenta videntur
Romanoque foro & lautis mugire carinis.*

All this part of Rome was, during its highest prosperity, the best inhabited, and now is taken up by churches and convents. Rome may be said to have removed into the Campus Martius and the plain along the Tiber, of which that field made a part. Cities not only become extinct, they likewise change their place. Among those which I have seen, Lyons, Marseilles, Ancona, &c. have like Rome come down from the mountains, where their founders had placed them, and which they had long occupied, to extend themselves along the levels.

CHRONOLOGICAL DISSERTATION ON THE COMMON SEWERS.

Ponimus cloacas inter magnifica, says Justus Lipsius, in his Considerations on the Roman Grandeur; *et sordes has inter illos splendores*. And in reality, perhaps never was work, intended for public service, carried to such a pitch of grandeur. Distributed among the vallies within the first inclosures of Rome, and continually refreshed by copious springs, they emptied themselves into the Tiber, through the valley which separates mount Aventine from the Palatine.

Such is the solidity of their construction, that they

they have withstood the depredations of ages, and several both inward and outward causes of decay. I have seen the Cloaca maxima, at its issue into the Tiber; it is from twelve to fifteen feet in breadth, with the like height. I could not but admire the enormous blocks of which it is built, the stability of the arch, and the regularity of its form, which has not failed in any one part, though the stones are joined bare, without mortar or cement.

Admiration increases on considering the depth of the excavations and the trenches which this kind of building required; and that, farther, it was the work of Rome's second century, that is, when Rome was only an irregular heap of cottages.

De canna staminibusque domos.*

Indeed, if ancient and modern historians are to be credited, the Cloaca maxima was only part of such undertakings in the time of Tarquin the elder, who according to those historians laid the foundations of the Capitol, lining the Tarpeian rock with a huge body of masonry (*substructio*) still existing (*a*); who confined the bed of the Tiber by a quay distinguished, even in the most polite ages of Rome, by the denomination of *Pulchrum littus*;

* Ovid. Fast. L. iii.

(*a*) Within this body of masonry was the Carcer Tullianus, of which the part now subsisting makes a chapel consecrated to St. Peter, who is said to have been confined in it. This part is built of blocks in the same manner like those of the Cloaca maxima,

who

who encompassed Rome with a stone wall; and, lastly, who began the great Circus which could hold one hundred and fifty thousand spectators. Yet at the first *census* in the following reign, the number of inhabitants, both of Rome and its territory, did not much exceed eighty thousand; all husbandmen living on the produce of their grounds and the work of their hands; all warriors without pay and engaged in continual wars; all handicrafts-men either by calling or necessity.

In many countries the difficulties concerning works much inferior to these are cleared up at once, by attributing them to fairies, to forcerers, and even to the devil himself; and I own I should as soon be for giving to them the honour of all the edifices and constructions attributed to Tarquin, especially the sewers in question, as to that very limited sovereign of an infant unsettled state, and which never so much as thought of coining money till three hundred years after.

The Romans of the more enlightened ages could not but see into this contradiction. Pliny was aware of it*; but, to avoid overthrowing one of the main foundations of the conceit entertained by the Romans, and the nations whom they had subdued, relating to the grandeur of the *eternal city*, even in its infancy, he supposes that in building the Cloaca maxima Tarquin had set all the people of Rome to work. And, to help out this supposition, he makes Tarquin treat them with a severity of which most despotic states scarce afford an instance. “If any,” says he†,

* Plin. L. xxxiii. c. 2.

† L. xxxv. c. 15.

— were

“ were discouraged by the length and dangers of
 “ the work, so as to give themselves up to despair,
 “ and deprive themselves of life, Tarquin cau-
 “ sed their bodies to be nailed cross-wise, and
 “ thus left unburied to the vultures and other
 “ birds of prey.” *In quo, adds Pliny, pudor Ro-*
mani nominis proprius, qui sæpe res perditas ser-
vavit in præliis, tunc quoque subvenit.

But this circumstance, so little agreeable to the constitution of Rome even under its kings, and of which no mention is made before Pliny, cannot convince me of the main fact.

Some more clear particulars than those which Dionysius Halicarnassæus* himself relates concerning the first inhabitants of Latium, might discover the real authors of this construction, which bears so near a resemblance to many others erected in the most remote times; times, when that part of Italy between the two seas was covered with towns, dwellings and inhabitants, before the Roman name was so much known.

At least it is certain from Livy, that before the Trojans, according to the Roman notion, brought their household gods into Latium, a colony of Arcadians had already settled on the mount Palatine; a colony of the same kind, and doubtless of the same date, as all those the conjunction of which had formed Italic-Greece, which the Greeks themselves, by way of excellence, called *Great Greece*. Philosophy, the arts and sciences, had flourished in this fine country before Romulus had made himself known there by his asylum and the rape of the Sabines.

* Lib. i.

It is even very probable, that colonies prior to the emigrations of the Greeks had taken care to display, in their public works, a grandeur expressive of their power and prosperity. The silence of historians concerning these ancient foundations is amply compensated by the public edifices of old Poestum (*f*), which are existing even to this day: and count Gazola, master of the ordnance in Spain, caused plans and elevations to be taken of them; and in 1758 they were engraving at Naples under his inspection. The taste and proportions of these edifices, and their resemblance to those which are still existing in Upper Egypt, prove them anterior to the commencement of arts even among the Greeks.

To these primitive colonies, whose work they are, perhaps should be attributed those monuments of subterraneous architecture, which are common in Great Greece, Sicily, Phœnicia, and Egypt; I mean those caverns, wrought by human skill, which hold the first rank among the antiquities of Cumæ and Puzzolo; the catacombs of Naples, Messina, and Syracuse; and the cryptæ along the coast of Phœnicia, hewn in the rocks; together with those immense galleries which run to such an extent under ground in part of Egypt; and all the works of this kind, of which the first men found the models in those wonderful caverns exhibited to them by nature, among the ruins out of which it has formed most of the islands of the Archipelago. The Myrmidons, who displayed their valour at the siege of Troy, and gave them-

(*f*) On the gulph of Tarentum,

selves out to be the descendants of ants, who lived under ground, might perhaps owe both their name, which, according to Pliny, was in the early times common to all the Greeks (*g*), and this tradition concerning their origin, to their ancestors having been particularly noted for works of this kind.

Now in one or other of those early ages must be placed the foundation of those edifices, the ruins of which Evander shewed to Æneas, on the very spot which Rome afterwards came to occupy.

*Disiectis oppida muris,
Reliquias, veterumque vides monumenta virorum.*

Accordingly, in the fifth century of the christian æra, Evander was commonly accounted the founder or restorer of Rome (*b*). Under the empire of paganism Rome had not dared to relinquish the opinion which referred its origin to Romulus, such opinion being connected with religion by a number of ceremonies implying that origin*.

To these indications may be added the dimness and uncertainty of what light appears in the first ages of Rome; the chimeras of the Romans concerning their origin and its supposed epocha; their studious fondness of referring to themselves and their ancestors whatever had an air of grandeur;

(*g*) *Hos eosdem (Græcos) tribus nominibus appellavit; Myrmidonas, et Hellenas, et Achæos.* L. iv. c. 7.

(*b*) See Servius on the 10th verse of Virgil's first Eclogue: *Roma ante Romulum fuit, et ab ea Romulus nomen adquisivit.* See M. Boivin's Dissertation on the Origin of Rome. *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*

* See Ovid. *Fast. passim.*

their

their constant admiration of these very sewers in question; their goddess Cloacina*, to whom they attributed the superintendency of them, and whose worship is dated from Tatius Romulus's colleague (i). After all, reducing the testimony of the Roman historians to their just weight, we shall only conclude that the construction of the Cloaca Maxima is not posterior to the second century of Rome.

Against the supposition of such an undertaking being formed, carried into execution, and completed, by a town in its infancy and perpetually embroiled in wars, I might object, at least as a reason for doubting, the long patience of the Parisians in bearing, and in a quarter which was for a long time the beauty of Paris, and close by the walks of that quarter, the stench and many inconveniences of an open sewer, without any water running into it, lost in dead grounds, and the infected atmosphere of which over-spread no small part of the garden ground supplying that great city. At length, M. Turgot was the man who contrived and made a stone-work sewer, which by means of the water running through, and thus cooling and cleansing it, should equal those at Rome; yet it

* Laët. de Falsa Relig. c. 20. Aug. de Civ. Dei, L. iv. c. 23.

(i) To the premisses may be farther added the little agreement between the dispositions of the streets of Rome with that of the sewers or drains; *quæ*, says Livy, *primò per publicum ductæ: nunc* (in his time) *privata passim subibant tecta*, L. v. if Livy did not impute this irregularity to the hurry and tumult in which Rome was rebuilt after being laid in ashes by the Gauls: but if Rome, at that time no small place, was rebuilt on the former sites, Livy's testimony makes for me, and consequences diametrically opposite result from the same fact.

is but little above twenty years since such a city (thanks to that valuable citizen) has been provided with a conveniency of such importance: *tanta molis erat, &c.!*

The reasons of necessity, which called for such an undertaking at Paris, did not exist in Rome under Romulus and Tarquin. Its inhabitants may be supposed to have been none of the most delicate persons: it stood scrambling along the Tiber, on hills and eminences, the vallies of which were natural drains for the waters and filth, discharging them into that river.

St. CONSTANTIA's CHAPEL.

The Roman antiquaries are divided concerning the little church or chapel of St. Constantia, without the Porta Pia, and facing that of St. Agnes; some holding it to be a modern structure, whilst to others it seems an antique. It is a rotondo about twenty feet in diameter, surrounded with collaterals, and at present disfigured by an ugly roof over-spreading both dome and collaterals. The hollow in the collateral facing the door is occupied by that splendid porphyry monument, embellished with a very prominent bas-relief of vine-branches and bunches of grapes, draughts of which are to be met with every where.

They who judge the chapel to be an ancient temple prove it from this tomb; whilst others take it to be the baptistery which Anastasius the librarian says, in the Life of St. Silvester, was erected at Rome by Constantine for baptizing the two Constantias, one his sister, the other his daughter: and this opinion seems to prevail against all the many marks of antiquity so manifest in the edifice,

edifice, and though the baptistery mentioned by Anastasius is found to be Constantine's baptistery, which at present is that of St. John de Lateran.

On the other hand, to conclude from the porphyry tomb and its embellishments, that the temple in which it now stands was anciently consecrated to Bacchus, is going too far. First, The ornaments of tombs were left to the sculptor's choice, who usually suited them to the profession or inclinations of the persons for whom they were intended, like the tomb in the Capitol, on which is represented Homer's apotheosis. Secondly, To place any monument of this kind in towns, and much less in temples, was quite contrary to the custom of antiquity. This was certainly removed to the place where it now stands, as the intended sepulchre of some christian of the first distinction, after having originally served for the same purpose to some very eminent, or at least very rich pagan (*k*); so that this edifice is to be judged of by itself, abstractedly from the tomb within it.

It has in little all the proportions of that beautiful church which Justinian built at Ravenna*: but what is to be inferred from this resemblance? The Greeks, having before them many ancient edifices of the rotondo form, adopted it for their first churches, whilst the Latins took the model of their sacred structures from the Roman basilics.

(*k*) It is to this temple, as converted into an oratory, that perhaps should be applied this passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, which has escaped the Roman antiquarians: *Julianus*, says that historian, L. xxi. *initio, Helenæ conjugis defunctæ suprema miserat Romam in suburbano viæ nomentanæ condenda, ubi uxor quoque Galli, quondam soror ejus, sepulta est Constantina.*

* See RAVENNA.

In order to a conclusive decision of this point, plans and elevations of all the parts of the building both within and without, with exact copies of the mosaics with which part of the floor and the roof are still covered, should be laid before those connoisseurs to whose judgment the dispute was to be referred: likewise the adjacent ground should be searched, whether it was not surrounded with a colonnade, as some of its outward parts seem to indicate.

Farther, in this church are two chandeliers of the finest Grecian marble, and the fashion and workmanship answerable: the height of them is about four feet: their ornaments are in the taste which Michael Angelo had formed to himself, in this kind, from antique pieces. A small head, in the manner of the finest cameiæus, projects from each of the triangular faces of the feet of these chandeliers. One of these heads had been newly broken off and carried away; and according to the sacristan, the offender was a young French artist.

ANTIQUITIES in the VATICAN and CAPITOL.

The ruins with which the inhabited parts of ancient Rome are covered must naturally affect the antiquarians, as representing to their imagination various monuments of the magnificence and grandeur of ancient Rome. The Vatican and the Capitol, amidst the multitude of statues and busts escaped from the ravages of time and barbarism, exhibit some which every eye must behold with pleasure. The Vatican antiques are as universally known as St. Peter's. The Musæum Capit-
tolinum,

tolinum, in giving the curious an idea of those which Benedict XIV. has assembled in the Capitol, at the same time must excite an eager desire of seeing such beauties. The intent of Leo X. and Benedict XIV. in forming these collections, was to secure the enjoyment of them to the public: how different from that croud of rapacious popes and nephews, whose leading view was to enrich their houses with the spoils of ancient Rome! It is however to be wished, that these collections were absolutely public, and that they who are entrusted with the keeping of them did not sell the sight of them, and screw an income out of the artists who are obliged to study them: such a monopoly corresponds neither with the magnificence nor the intentions of a master, who has so many ways of providing for persons of this class.

The villas of Borgnese, Pamphili, Medicis, &c. the palaces of Farnese, Barberini, Verospi, Massimi, Albani, &c. are likewise very rich in antiques; but nothing equals, if not in choice at least in quantity, those of the Justiniani palace. The apartments, the stair-case, court, walls, every corner of this palace, are filled or covered with antiques: in a word, under a large shed belonging to it, and where are piled up all those for which room could not be found, one sees at once more than are to be found in all Europe, Rome and Florence excepted. At the sight of such riches we admire the munificence of the prince which has thus provided for their conservation; but the quantity rather astonishes than satisfies.

Besides, all these pieces, though real antiques, are far from being equally valuable. Every artisan,

who had an hand in filling Rome (1) with monuments of this kind, was not a Phidias or an Apollodorus; the majority of them only copying their most celebrated pieces: every where one meets with copies of the Venus of Medicis, some good, some middling, and often very bad. I saw one at Rome, which had been lately discovered, and pretty well repaired, set out for sale in a work-shop near La Trinità di Monte. The repair which most of these antiques seem to require is a very dangerous trial, in which they are always losers: it were perhaps to be wished, that they were treated after the example of Michael Angelo with the celebrated Torso of the Vatican, the repair of which he modestly declined as above his skill, great as it was. The tradition which had attributed to him the repairing of Laocoön is manifestly false, the second-hand legs and arms bearing no proportion to the bodies to which they have been fitted.

CARDINAL ALBANI'S PALACE.

Cardinal Alexander Albani is at present the capital repairer of antiquity. With him the most mutilated, most disfigured, most irremediable pieces recover their original beauty: *nova facit omnia*: the fragment of a bust, which, even when entire, all antiquaries would have disregarded as *una testa incognitissima*, from him receives, with new life, a name which irrevocably perpetuates its rank.

As a repository for those pieces, he was building, without the Salara gate, a palace in the taste

(1) *Statuas Thufci primum in Italia invenerunt, quas amplexa posteritas, pæne parem populum urbi dedit, quàm natura procreavit.*
Cassiodor.

of those of ancient Rome. Its front is covered with exquisite embellishments, and intersected by a portico over which runs the first story ; a disposition which, if it cools the ground-floor apartments as shaded by the portico, leaves them only a false light. This front faces a parterre with fine water-works, and innumerable antiques, terminating in a vast semi-circular portico, which is open towards the garden, surmounted with a continuous balustrade, and the outward part mured. This portico puts one the more in mind of the *xystræ*, or covered walks, of the Romans, as being stocked with those objects with which a learned luxury delighted to embellish them ; that is, the statues and busts of the most eminent personages. To statues and busts cardinal Albani has added altars, tombs, bas-reliefs, and monuments of all kinds, and all in part made whole by new work. It is in busts that these renovations chiefly shew themselves, in the noses, the ears, and whole parts fitted to those which time has spared. Thus one sees there the Grecian poets, philosophers, and orators, with amendments and additions ; and the name of each newly engraved in Greek characters. We had seen cardinal Albani before seeing his palace ; and on our intimating a desire of admiring that structure and its inestimable contents, he answered with something of a sneer, “ It is not
“ made for eyes used to the wonders of French
“ architecture : to you the plan must appear chimerical, and the performance execrable.”

CARDINAL PASSIONEI'S HERMITAGE.

With less expence and parade cardinal Passionei had built and ornamented his Camalduli hermitage.
This

This hermitage, contrived on the side of the mountain of Frascati, had a prospect of Rome, part of the Campania and its sea, with an horizontal view of the Rufinella of the jesuits lying under it. The disposition was modelled from the irregularity of the ground. The apartments formed as many insulated pavilions, dispersed among groves communicating along serpentine paths: and these paths ended at the main walk, which itself was laid out only as the mountain would permit, being cut in it like a little bank. Along the borders of this walk, of these paths, and these groves, were placed funeral monuments which the cheerful verdure around them enlivened. These monuments were ancient tombs of all dimensions, urns of different figures, mostly very uncommon, and Greek and Latin epitaphs of all ages. The most remarkable piece, at least in its bulk, was the tomb of an emperor of the lower ages. Cardinal Albani, to whom it belonged, had made an offer of it to cardinal Passionei, with the express proviso that he should hoist it into his hermitage, supposing this to be utterly impossible; however, cardinal Passionei, by dint of machines and oxen, at length effected it.

Among the epitaphs, that on a Greek actress attracted particular notice, being of a great length, in characters of the best times, and finely preserved. I was for copying those inscriptions which I thought most affecting, or most singular; but the cardinal saved me that trouble, informing me that he had sent a complete collection of them to the Royal Academy of *Belles Lettres* at Paris.

In the dining room stood a cistern taken out of the ruins of Adrian's villa at Tivoli. It was an oblong square of four feet to three, and one in depth, and pierced in its centre for a tube; which playing at meal time furnished water for drinking, and rinsing the glasses: this water, equally excellent for its coolness and quality, is the very same which watered Cicero's Tusculanum; the cardinal having alighted on the ancient pipes. I never saw any goldsmith's work comparable to this cistern, either for elegance of form, taste of the ornaments, or delicacy of workmanship. The cardinal, in his pavilion, had a closet of books rather choice than many. In the most conspicuous part of this closet hung a portrait of the celebrated M. Arnaud, a Sorbonne doctor; and near it was a large octavo bound in green, without a title: on opening it, there was the *Lettres Provinciales* in five languages.

But this hermitage had nothing so extraordinary in it, as its founder: he was free, open, and just, in his conversation, in his dealings, and all his actions; in a word, cardinal Passionei was really a phenomenon in a country and a court, which are the very centre of intrigue and the most artful practices. In his love of literature he had no equal: nobody ever shewed more ardour in promoting it, and nobody ever more heartily detested the jesuits: this love and this hatred were the two springs of his views, his schemes, and his whole conduct. An unexpected restraint on his declared sentiments proved his death: though eighty years of age, his genius and constitution retained all their vigour.

His

His decease was followed by the speedy destruction of his hermitage: the people of Camalduli, on whose ground it was built, seconded by their neighbours, immediately fell to pulling down a place which he had formed, and was his supreme delight. I have heard, that, to make the quicker work in its demolition, his rancorous enemies tumbled down from the mountain most of the monuments, which the cardinal had placed there.

A few general observations on some ruins of ancient Rome shall close this article.

PILLARS.

Besides the numberless pillars still standing, and those daily discovered, Rome is strewed with fragments which serve as borders and shores to the terrasses on each side of the great streets. In a street near the Barberini palace I have seen half a fluted pillar of transparent eastern marble put to that use. The very pavement of the streets and squares is interspersed with granite and porphyry.

APERTURES in ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

I have closely examined the apertures observable in the triumphal arches and all the ancient monuments existing at Rome. Those gaps, which are exactly square, and always parallel to each other, in the corresponding parts of the monuments, seem to have been made only for admitting the extremity of the joists of the stories of dwellings contrived in those monuments, or which run up against them. During the intestine wars with which Rome and all the other cities of Italy had been rent, these
monu-

monuments served for citadels, and troops were placed in them. When ignorance and barbarism came to prevail, these antique structures were looked on only as masses fit for making lodgements in, or grafting houses against them, as is still done in the amphitheatres of Arles and Nîmes.

The little round temple, still existing by the side of the Tiber towards the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima, is by the antiquarians of Rome looked on as the temple of Vesta. Justus Lipsius on the other hand maintains, that this temple, which was originally built by Numa in the valley between the Capitol and the Palatine mount, was afterwards inclosed by Augustus within the precinct of his palace : yet Horace has said,

*Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta regis
Templaque Vestæ.*

If these *monumenta regis* be taken for the quay called *Pulchrum littus*, which was accounted to be the work of Tarquinius Priscus, then the *templa Vestæ* will be the little temple still subsisting, and which stood at the head of that quay. It is at present dedicated to Santa Maria del Sole. According to the custom of the ages mentioned in the preceding article, a filthy house with a smithy has been grafted against it; a use pretty analogous to the primitive consecration of this temple to the Goddess of Fire.

ANTIQUE VASES.

Etruscan vases are now known and common all over Europe. Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. have

have enriched the Vatican library with a collection of this kind, which, besides the prodigious quantity of the pieces, is equally admired for the fine preservation of them, and the elegance and variety of their forms. This elegance, which the ancient Romans first borrowed from the Etrusci and the Greeks, has been continued down to the present time, even in the most common vessels. A country girl returning from the spring with a pitcher of water on her head, perfectly resembles those figures which the most exquisite antiques represent in the same attitude. How little of this elegance is to be seen in the vessels of our northern countries! Yet some good patterns distributed among the workhouses of our potters and porcelain makers might introduce it with little cost: some of these models might be had along the coast of Provence.

WINE-JARS.

In the southern provinces of France I had seen a less elegant kind of antique vessels, very narrow for their height, contracted at one third part from their height, with two handles near the orifice, and terminating in an inverted cone. From finding ashes and calcined bones in some of them, all the vessels of this kind were concluded to be cinerary urns. But at Rome, and in all the country near it, such vessels are discovered every day; and their uniform figure declares them to be the *amphora* so often occurring in the Latin poets. From their handles is derived their name (*m*); and the inverted cone at the bottom was for

(*m*) From ἀμφὶ and φέρω.

receiving

receiving the groffer parts of the fediment : on the orifice, which was thicker and fuller than the other part of the vefſel, was fitted a cover to be ſealed hermetically with maſtic. In theſe veſſels it was that the ancients kept their moſt valuable wines for ſuch a number of years.

The ſhape of them was not the beſt contrived for getting the wine out clear of all ſediment ; but we are unacquainted with the manner of the ancients making their wines, and how, in being kept forty, or fifty, or ſixty years in lofts, thoſe wines improved to that perfection ſo much cried up by the Latin poets. Let modern poets in their turn celebrate the invention of caſks, to which the ancients were ſtrangers, and which are ſo very convenient and handy for all the ſeveral operations relating to the juice of the grape. The inverted cone at the bottom of the *amphora* would not allow of their ſtanding ; another inconveniency with which the moderns are not troubled (*n*).

From theſe ancient inconveniences it appears, Firſt, That in the ages when luxury was at its height, the Romans, ſtill confining themſelves to the wines of their own growth, which were extremely rough, or to the Greek wines which were as luſcious, had made no improvement on the diſcoveries of the primitive times for preparing and keeping wine (*o*) ; Secondly, That in common life they were very ſober as to liquor ; and the debauches into which

(*n*) This explains the *jacere* in that fable of Phædrus : *Anus jacere videt epotam amphoram*. The *nobilis teſta* of the ſame fable is cleared up by Horace's *Græca teſta*.

(*o*) See their very complicated manner of making wine, Columell. L. xii. c. 21. Plin. L. xiv. c. 20.

they sometimes gave, more from bravado than from liking, were never carried to any great excess. Thirdly, That refinements in preparing wine, and the discovery of the utensils necessary to such preparation, were reserved to nations, who after planting vines should cultivate them in proportion as wine should agree with their climate and constitution.

I think I have already taken notice, that the very populace of Italy still use wine very temperately, and that all the time we were in the country we did not see so much as one Italian intoxicated. The wine drank by the commonalty is generally heavy, thick, and turbid, and consequently not very inviting to indulge in: besides, the diseases which excess would infallibly produce, the quarrels to which it gives rise, the very indecency of appearing drunk among sober people, are a sufficient restraint to a nation who in every thing go by rule.

Accordingly, wine is made in Italy as it was two thousand years ago, and nearly with the same utensils. Of these the chief are a kind of bathing-tubs: the wine is stirred about in them; then it is worked, and water mixed with it: this operation takes up the two months following the vintage.

Boiled wine is made more expeditiously. It is brought from the vineyard to the proprietor's house, where it is boiled in large caldrons, and, when cool, is left to settle. Terracina, and those towns of the Campania through which we passed in going and returning from Naples, were busied in this employment, and in the very streets, the walls serving for chimnies. I never saw any
Neapolitan

Neapolitan wine made, but was told that to promote the fermentation, they throw into it live animals, and a great deal of quick lime, quenching the latter with water; whence this wine contracts a thickness, from which it never recovers. Of all these wines, that which pleased me the best, and which I could have drunk of during the whole remainder of my life, was Orvietto wine: it is of a pale amber colour, and, besides being extremely light, is rather a perfume than a liquor. Florence comes the nearest to the French wines, of which the Florentines certainly imitate the preparation: it is Bourdeaux wine, but lighter and warmer, besides a flavour which the French wines have not.

The Burgundy wines, which are brought into Italy, confirm the Italians in the way of preparing theirs, the former generally losing its colour, and not a little of its texture. By the way, Champagne is a better traveller; but its tartness and froth do not agree either with the taste or the smell of the Italians, who, between the qualities of this wine, and the cast of the people among whom it grows, find some resemblance, analogous to the opinion which they are pleased to harbour of that people.

St. PAUL's GATE.

Cestius's tomb, which was erected in Augustus's reign, and is now wedged in the body of the rampart intersected by St. Paul's gate, proves this gate to be more modern than the author of *Roma antica e moderna* imagines, who, copying some antiquaries, refers the construction of it to the reign of the emperor Claudius. Under the first emperors the ramparts and gates of Rome were rather matter

of ornament than necessity. These emperors, as sovereign pontiffs, were the heads of a religion which took cognisance of the walls, the gates, and the *pomærium* of towns. The augural ritual* prescribed *quo ritu condantur urbes, quâ sanctitate muri, quo jure portæ*; and the wedging a tomb in the wall of a town would have been a most flagrant insult on those laws, especially as they annexed to tombs and all funerary monuments, an idea of defilement and impurity. When Aurelian surrounded Rome with the inclosure now subsisting, philosophy, and afterwards christianity, had enlightened men's minds with a sense of the futility of these antiquated superstitions; and Cestius's tomb was considered as an indifferent mass, and accordingly incorporated with the new rampart.

MONSIGNOR ASSEMANI'S MUSEUM.

The Vatican library I often used to visit: the beauty of the place, the riches it contains, the polite readiness of the learned persons who have the keeping of it, every circumstance combines to invite a foreigner's visit. One day I met there, pretty early, a cardinal not less eminent for his extensive erudition than his rational piety: he was accompanied by some bishops of the *Propaganda*. Every place was opened to him by monsignor Assemani, patriarch of Antioch, and one of the chief librarians. M. Assemani afterwards led us into a cabinet, in which are lodged the curiosities which he collected in Arabia, Egypt, and Judea. Among those of art we particularly admired some intaglios and camaïeus, especially a Cleo-

* Verrius Flaccus, verbo *Rituales*.

patra in relief, on an exquisite agate-onyx. Among the natural curiosities we took notice of a pretty large piece of stone, of a deep green, and transparent, though without polish. M. Assemani assured us that this stone was a fragment which he had caused, in his presence, to be broken from a mountain of Upper Arabia: the whole mass was an emerald like that specimen, which had not been separated from the rest without a great deal of trouble and labour. By the weight it seemed neither glass, nor any compound substance. The cardinal tried it with a diamond cut point-wise; but it did not feel it: yet I have since seen such stones, and was told that they are formed in the iron forges by the confluence of metallic parts vitrifying there.

M. Assemani having, during his long stay in Judea, made himself particularly acquainted with that famous country, I took this opportunity to lay before him a question, which had been formerly put to me by a countryman of mine. Its object was, first, the Jordan, which to the Holy Land is what the Po is to Italy; secondly, the Dead sea, which receives this river, that is, receives all the waters falling by rains, fogs, and dews, throughout all the extent of the Holy Land. The point was, to know, first, whether those waters were absorbed into the Dead sea merely by evaporation, or by some communication, either external or subterraneous, between the Dead sea and the Mediterranean or the Red sea? secondly, where had these waters any receptacle or issue before the ground sunk so as to form a bed for the Dead sea?

The cardinal dwelled on these questions, and

turned them on every side, so that M. Affemani frankly owned, concerning the first, that he knew of no communication between the Dead and the neighbouring seas (*p*): concerning the second, after struggling hard between the *posse* and the *esse*, and labouring to explain one by the other, he acknowledged that those questions were absolutely new to him, and that he had no observations relating to such points, adding, that he would leave no stone unturned to procure some, either by himself, or those who were in the way of making them to the purpose.

This discussion was followed by another, on the manner in which the church of Rome governs the churches in the East Indies and the adjacent country. The patriarch and the bishops maintained, with much warmth, that the surest way of prefer-

(*p*) The maps of the Holy Land seem to point out this communication, in the Kishon, a brook which they represent as connecting the sea of Galilee with that of Syria; but accounts contradict this as an error. *La fuente*, says P. Rodrigues de Yepes, in his Account of the Holy Land, fol. 27. *non mucho de alli corriendo al Septentrion topa y se encuentra con el monte de Hermon, y se abre y divide en dos rios: el uno que camina à la mano ysqquierda, hasta descargarse en el Mar Syriaco entre el Promontorio de Carmelo y la Ciudad di Ptolemeida, donde el Propheta Helias mato los Prophetas de Baal. El otro rio va à la mano derecha, hasta llegar al lago de Genezareth, y entra en el entre el Pueblo & Castillo di Magdalo, y la Ciudad de Tiberia, i. e.* “The brook Kishon, in its course northward, not
“ far from thence meeting with mount Hermon, divides itself
“ into two streams; one turning off to the left till it discharges
“ itself into the sea of Syria, between the promontory of Carmel and the city of Ptolemais, where the prophet Elisha slew
“ the priests of Baal: the other branch takes to the right as
“ far as the lake of Genezareth, into which it enters between
“ the town and castle of Magdala, and the city of Tiberias.

ving those churches in the purity of the faith was to keep them in an immediate dependance on the holy see : this they proved from all the ancient heresies, which would not have been heard of had that dependancy been established in the more early times. The cardinal objected the conduct of the apostles in settling bishops, the total extinction of the Japanese church, which, had national bishops been appointed there, would have been a church to this day ; lastly, the opinion of Benedict XIV. who, said he concerning this important article, thought as the apostles acted.

A Q U E D U C T S.

The ruins of towns, which, throughout the whole extent of the Roman empire, have, as colonies only, acquired some degrees of celebrity, shew, in the traces of aqueducts which conveyed salubrious waters even to such cities as seemed to have the least need of them*, what Roman magnificence must have performed in this kind for the embellishment of the capital of the empire, and the conveniency of its inhabitants.

The first aqueduct was contrived and built by the censor Appius. His example led the public luxury to this useful object ; and, by immense works, streams and even rivers were brought into Rome. Agrippa, what with improvements of the former works, and additions, within the year of his edileship, provided Rome with seven hundred pieces of level waters, a hundred and five of springing waters, built a hundred and thirty reservoirs, and, that nothing might be

* For instance Lyons.

wanting to the magnificence of these works; interspersed them with four hundred marble pillars and three hundred marble and bronze statues. *Si quis diligentius æstimaverit*, cried Pliny at the sight of these wonders, *aquarum abundantiam in publico, balneis, piscinis, domibus, euripis, hortis, suburbanis villis, spatioque advenientium extructos arcus, montes perfossos, convalles æquatas, fatebitur nihil magis mirandum fuisse in orbe terrarum.** In the learned Fabretti's Dissertations, *de Aquis & Aquæductibus*, are to be found all the particulars that can be desired, relating to this stupendous article.

It is in this respect that modern Rome bears the greatest likeness to ancient Rome; and for this advantage it is chiefly obliged to Sixtus V. and Paul V. who have rivaled the splendor and magnificence of the sovereigns of the universe. Such are the works of those two great princes, that Rome is now the only city which may be said to be duly supplied and ornamented with water. That brought by Paul V. to the top of the ancient Janiculum, by an aqueduct of twelve leagues in length, makes one of the most pleasant sights in this kind which can be beheld.

Out of three mouths opening from a large body of architecture, issues a river, which turns several mills, and after watering part of Rome supplies the two fountains in St. Peter's Circus. This superb *fontanone*, Raphael's famous transfiguration, and Bramantes' antique chapel built on the

* Plin. L. xxxvi.

spot where St. Peter is said to have been crucified, often drew me towards the Janiculum.

Several other aqueducts bring water to Rome; and so profusely is it distributed among gardens, palaces and public places, that it would seem mere waste in the squares, did not the embellishment resulting from it, and the lively appearance which it diffuses, deserve to come into account. Concerning this I have heard, that at the time of conquering the kingdom of Naples, Don Carlos, now king of Spain, having visited Rome *incognito*, Benedict XIV. would be his Cicero, and shew him in person the chief curiosities. On coming to St. Peter's, the prince admired the height, the plenty, and the fine effect, of the waters issuing from the two fountains which adorn that area. After a considerable time spent in viewing the wonders of St. Peter's, Don Carlos was surprised that the two fountains were still playing; on which the pope told him, that these waters played incessantly, "in the night time for the moon, and in the day for the people of Rome."

The Parisians will have it, that, had Lewis the XIVth's magnificence been directed towards this object, there would have been nothing at Rome which Paris need to envy.

Besides, the fountains of Rome are perhaps less to be admired for the plenty of water, than for the taste, the magnificence, and variety of their forms, which have, as it were, exhausted the skill and invention of the most celebrated architects: those in a great measure are owing to Innocent X. Alexander VII. and Urban VIII. That of Trevi

is the work of Clement XII. and his successor: the richness of the architecture in its ground-work, and the singularity of the different groupes formed by the projecting parts, give it the appearance of a theatrical decoration.

To the Roman antiques, with which I was most taken, I think I may add one of a very remarkable kind indeed, and discovered but a little before my arrival.

The abbot Mazeas had accompanied the bishop of Laon when going to Rome as ambassador from France. Though the account given by Spartian of the magnificence with which the emperor Adrian had collected for his house at Tivoli, the most remarkable products of the several provinces of the empire, be but superficial, this learned Frenchman undertook from it to search the ground on which the ruins of that house lie scattered. Among some plants quite foreign to the soil of Rome, and which have perpetuated themselves on this ground, he perceived a shrub emitting a kind of gum, made use of by the labouring peasants for perfuming their snuff. The first shrubs of this species which he examined were weak and knotty; but advancing towards an eminence intercepting the north wind, he perceived others very vigorous, and to be nothing less than that valuable shrub from which the Arabians gather the balsam of Mecca, and by the emperor Adrian imported and cultivated in his gardens at Tivoli. The abbot Mazeas, it is to be presumed, will communicate to some of the academies, of which he is a member, the particulars of his observations, and the discoveries arising from them.

MODERN ROME.

GOVERNMENT.—The papacy is the most absolute of all the governments in Europe. Its constitution, the consolidation of the priesthood and prerogative, the established notion of infallibility, set the pope above all superiority, or even equality: and his theocratical authority over the subjects, is the same as that of the most despotic general of an order, over the religious subordinate to his obedience. The authority of the European monarchs, besides being limited by fundamental laws, by the ordinances of their predecessors, by their coronation oath, is balanced by intermediate powers, such as the states general, the first bodies of the states, &c. The grand signor himself depends as much on the Janisaries as the Roman emperors depended on their army; and the muphti, though appointed by him, and removable at pleasure, is so far the more formidable, as, if he tries mastery with his sovereign, he is always sure of carrying his point.

There is not any one law, made either by their predecessors or themselves, from which the popes cannot derogate: they have only, for form's sake, to declare the law from which they intend to derogate: the want of this form would not hinder the immediate effect of a new law; it would serve only to open a future pretext or means of pleading against it. Hence those accumulations of derogatories in all bulls, of which they make a part. Of all the pope's subjects the jesuits are they who have most shackled his authority. The dogmatic and the encyclical bulls, such as those
of

of jubilees, are of no effect with regard to them, unless the derogation from their privileges be nominally and explicitly declared.

The political and civil government of Rome is distributed among congregations, always fitting, and not very unlike the sovereign courts, or rather the councils or commissions for executing the several branches of the prerogative in European states: but what keeps up this distribution at Rome is, that the senility of the popes disabling them from a close application to business, they rather think on securing to themselves a long enjoyment of their dignity, than of wearing themselves out by the exercise of the authority annexed to it. Sixtus V has shewn what may be done by a pope who will put himself at the head of his affairs. He did every thing by himself, agreeable to the principles of despotism, which he brought from the convent; and abrogating the most essential parts of the administration settled by his predecessors, he established others, to which his successors have shewn such a regard, that to this day Rome is still governed by the maxims of Sixtus V.

He was so firmly persuaded, or at least he was for having others be so, of his infallibility, of the subordination of all temporal powers to the power of the keys, and of the prerogatives of the *tiara* over all crowns, that in a fulminatory bull he proscribed the work where Bellarmine the jesuit allows the popes only an indirect right over sovereigns. I have seen, in cardinal Passionei's library, the only remaining copy of that bull printed *ex typographia apostolica*, under the inspection

spection of Sixtus V. Philip II. who connived at such antimonarchical assertions from the popes, and even from the divines of his own dominions, as might serve his designs against France, complained against this arbitrary bull; and on the repeated and vigorous remonstrances of that prince, Sixtus V. himself and his successors thought fit to call in all the copies of it.

Farther, in order to a right conception of what can be done by a pope who is both resolved and able to govern by himself, only compare what Sixtus V. in the five years of his pontificate, undertook and executed for the embellishment of Rome, and for fixing in it the seat of literature and arts, to what Augustus, in a reign of forty years, and with all the riches of the universe at his command, undertook and executed in the same way: the balance of such a comparison will be in favour of the Cordelier pope.

The POPE'S COURT.—I never could perceive in the pope's court, nor in any of its appurtenances, that state and fastuousness with which so many travellers have been disgusted. A great deal more may be observed in the court of the least ecclesiastical elector. In chapels, consistories, and all the occasions on which the pope at the head of the sacred college appears in all his grandeur, never did I see but one bishop, or one abbot, at the head of his chapter. These ceremonies indeed are opened by the cardinals successively paying their adoration to the pope on their knees, and without so much as their cap on: it must likewise be owned, that when, on the consecration of the cardinal of York as archbishop of Corinth, Cle-
ment

ment XIII. dined in public, which is very rarely known, the cardinals were served only from the pope's table, he eating by himself; and every time the pope drank they stood up, and all the other dignitaries fell on their knees; but this ceremonial favours more of the convent than of grandeur and majesty, and is as little imposing as the two large feathered fans or fly-flaps which are a stated part of the papal pomp.

There was anciently another sort of ceremony, when sovereigns held the popes stirrup, and led their palfrey by the reins. These homages were the more singular, as paid to the pope at times when, not being masters of Rome, it was purely their dignity which commanded such respect; and they have receded from all those external claims of superiority, as their temporal power increased. I meet with a very remarkable note in the circumstantial account of every thing that passed between Paul II. and the emperor Frederic III. when that prince came to Rome in 1468. Fabiano Bencio, secretary of the chamber, and author of that account, after relating how Paul II. behaved towards the emperor, in every respect, not as a lord towards his vassal, but as one sovereign towards another, adds, *Magna fuit humanitas quam pontifex Cæsari ubique præbuit, et eò major est habita, quo pontificalis autoritas nullâ ex parte priscis temporibus nunc est inferior; potestas autem atque vires longè sunt superiores. Ecclesia enim Romana, benevolente imperio et divitiis, pontificum diligentia aucta, eò usque processit, ut maximis quibusque regnis sit comparanda: contra autem Romani imperii potestas*

potestas atque vires adeò sunt minuitæ atque attritæ, ut, præter nomen imperii, pænè nihil remanserit. He then recurs to former instances of the treatment of several emperors at Rome; as Constantine, whom pope Vitalianus went to meet six miles out of the city; pope Constantine, who being sent for to Constantinople by Justinian II. set out immediately; pope Adrian, who received Charlemagne, before he was emperor, at the foot of the steps of St. Peter's church; pope Adrian IV. who went as far as Sutri to receive Frederic I. at his coming to Rome for the imperial crown. *Tunc magna erat, adds the relator, Romani imperii potestas, magnæ imperatorum vires in Italiâ et extrâ satis diffusæ; tanta autem erat pontificis potentia, quanta à principibus permittebatur: nunc verò, cùm rerum mutatio sit, parvulum quodque humanitatis officium pro maximo reputandum!* These ancient examples, by which Paul II. regulated his behaviour towards Frederic III. seem to exclude all pretence to that superiority with which popes in the intermediate times have treated sovereigns, and little to warrant the forgetfulness of dignity with which on these occasions sovereigns seem chargeable.

THE POPE'S TROOPS.---The troops which do duty at the pontifical palace, escorte the pope when he appears in public, and guard Rome, are divided into different bodies of foot and horse: a regiment of foot of twelve hundred men, with red uniforms trimmed with blue; a troop of hunters, consisting of two hundred men in an uniform with red trimmings, and who have their hautboys, bassoons, and french-horns; a troop of a hundred
light-

light-horse, in red uniforms faced with blue and a gold edging; a troop of a hundred cuirassiers, with blue uniforms, gold button-holes, and lace of the same, and who march with kettle-drums and trumpets; lastly, two hundred Swiss foot with cuirasses, their uniforms even to breeches and stockings striped with blue, yellow, and red, and instead of ruffs, wearing bands; a garb which makes them look something like parish-beadles. The other land and sea forces, cantoned in the ecclesiastical state, I omit.

The places of all the soldiers whose duty lies in Rome, are real canonicates: they are new clothed every year; their pay is a paulo *per diem*, with four and twenty ounces of bread, salt, oil, &c. The infantry is a medley of deserters from all nations. The cavalry in a great measure have been domestics to cardinals and noblemen, who procured them this retreat as a reward for their good behaviour. The light-horse have ten Roman crowns per month, besides the keeping of their horse; and the cuirassiers, fifteen sous *per diem*. The captains are all colonels by *brevet*; their pay is a hundred Roman crowns *per month*, and that of the subalterns proportionate, besides an allowance of bread, meat, &c. from the pope's palace, &c. There are several knights of Malta in this service, which to men of spirit is the less agreeable, being subject to the command of prelates; and, what to many is worse, the whole corps are cashiered at every new pontificate.

TRANSTEVERANS.—Rome has likewise its militia, divided, according to the quarters of the city, under captains and other officers, who are citizens.

zens. On the ceremony of the *Possesso* I saw the militia of Transtevere return into their quarter over the Sixtus bridge. Never troops were less like those who by their vigour and courage raised Rome to the empire of the universe; yet are these Transteverans the very flower of the Roman militia, which dares not compare itself to them. These husbandmen and wine-dressers (for such the majority are) look on themselves as the progeny of the Trojans; whilst the inhabitants of the other quarters of Rome, in their account, are only a rabble brought together by mere chance. At the time of the last conquest of the kingdom of Naples, when the Spaniards passed by Rome, the Walloon guards quartered in this part, committing some disorder, the towns-people rose, took arms and opposed their guests. This tumult spread an alarm which reached Benedict XIV. Two of the heads, being condemned to die for non-appearance, went over to the Austrian camp, and offered to bring the general two regiments of their people. The offer was readily accepted; but the peace soon following, rendered it unnecessary. The two delinquents returned home, and have continued without molestation. To keep their courage inured, the Transteverans, from time to time, challenge other quarters to stone-fights; and generally the victory is on their side. As they have a particular language or jargon, so in their manners and customs, and even their very shape and appearance, they differ from the other part of the people.

CHIEF OFFICES.—The supreme authority, both spiritual and temporal, is lodged in the pope and his

his council, which consists of nephews (of whom it is very seldom that there is any scarcity) and the cardinal secretary of state. Here the principal affairs are settled, and even the decision of those which are to go through the congregations is prepared, these assemblies being so modelled, that in every thing they conform to the inspiration from the council above.

By the abrogation of nepotism, it has ceased in *apparenza*, but not in *so stanza*. Benedict XIV. of all the late popes, is the only one who, literally conforming to that law, did not listen to *flesh and blood*. Though he was not displeased with any of his family, so little did he concern himself about them, that, receiving an express that his niece was delivered of a son, he said with a laugh, *Io credeva che la razza de' cogl fosse finita* (q). The surplus of what the apostolic chamber annually yielded for his civil list, he applied to the benefit of Santo Spirito.

SECRETARY OF STATE.—Cardinal Archinto, after being secretary of state to that pope as successor to cardinal Valenti, had been continued in his high post by Clement XIII. He died very suddenly, just as the Portuguese affair began to break out: we saw his funeral, and heard the lamentations with which it was honoured, with the conjectures and predictions concerning it. His obsequies as chancellor formed a spectacle little or nothing inferior to the funeral even of a pope.

The posts of camerlingo, chancellor and vicar, are for life. The first takes cognizance of all the

(q) “ I thought that good-for-nothing breed had been at
“ an end.”

parts of the finances. Before the second come all affairs requiring the great seal: the income of this post is said to be not less than three hundred thousand livres *per annum*. To the third belongs whatever concerns the ecclesiastical police, the fraternities, the hospital, &c. I have heard that the very public prostitutes were a branch of his department, and that they go before him, and, as it were, make a profession of that calling, declaring the resolution they had taken *far laborar il terreno*. They are immediately called aside, and that condition is set before them in all its infamy and horror: if they persist, so as to make their appearance a second time before the vicar, they are registered and sent again to the *barigel*, who provides them with a lodging in the streets set apart for that profession. Cardinal Guadagni was still vicar when we were at Rome. This good prelate carried his charity to such a pitch, that a priest representing his distress to him, to make known all its extremity declared to him that he was without breeches: on which the cardinal took off his, and gave them to the priest, as the only relief at that time in his power.

SECRETARY of the BRIEFS.—The briefs secretary's office, for which Clement XII. has built on Monte Cavallo, a palace of a more grand appearance than that of the pope himself, has for its head a cardinal, or sometimes only a prelate. This important place was filled by cardinal Passionei, who was put into it by pope Clement XII. and Benedict XIV. confirmed him in it, with the addition of librarian to the Vatican. At the conclaves of 1740 and 1758, cardinal

Passionei had treated cardinal Rezzonico, (*r*) who was immediately before him in the sacred college, very freely, and sometimes imperiously and even roughly. The latter being made pope in 1758, without the concurrence of the squadron of which cardinal Passionei was the head, and who had repeatedly protested that he never would come into that election; at the adoration the cardinal, after performing it, delivered to the pope the bulls for his employment, saying, "Most holy father, " I deliver up to your holiness the favours with " which your two predecessors honoured me from " mere kindness: your holiness, who is under no " obligation to me, may confer them on some- " body more worthy." The pope took the bulls, and after looking on them a while answered, " Cardinal Passionei, perhaps I am more obliged " to you than you think; but, were I under no " obligation to you, the church is under many: " accept then from her hand the confirmation " of my predecessors favours, if you have any " scruple of accepting it from mine;" and he added, smiling, " continue to give me your " advice, with that freedom and candour which " I have often felt."

The spiritual court has two offices at Rome, that of the inquisition, erected by Paul V. and that of the penitentiary. The first, of which the pope is always president, is like rivers, at their source of little importance, but increasing in their progress. Foreigners of all reli-

(*r*) That was his way, more or less, in the sacred college, with all his brethren: all Rome knows how he behaved towards cardinal Tencin in a full consistory.

gions, by reason of their bringing a great deal of money, live freely at Rome without being molested about their belief, or requiring any conformity with the religion of the country. These foreigners make no difficulty of shewing what they are; and all the commonalty, whose interest herein is the same as that of the state, say of them, and that with a laugh, *Questa gente non crede in Dio: gran' malora per loro**. It is only the domestics who are tampered with, and that not by spiritual threatenings, but offering them pensions, or to make them *sbirri*, &c. I used to see at the German inn a Swiss who had been converted in this manner. He had a pension of ten Roman crowns per month, and thus was continually smoking and tippling: he would fain have made such a convert of a young Saxon, whom my fellow traveller had taken into his service at Venice. This young Saxon went, in company with other servants, to kiss the pope's feet, who being taken with his countenance asked him what country and religion he was of: "Of Saxony," answered he with German frankness, "and of a religion which is not yours." "Well, friend," replied the pope in an affectionate manner, at the same time giving him a chaplet, "take this from my hand, as an earnest of your future reconciliation with the church of Rome."

However, should a foreigner be so indiscrete as to offer at dogmatizing, the inquisition would lay its hand on him, but not till repeated warnings to

* "Those people do not believe in God; so much the worse for them."

forbear, or to leave Rome. A young Frenchman, whom a friend of mine met with at Bologna, in 1740, told him that he had been in durance for above a week in the prison of the holy office for an amour with a girl kept by a priest, who was for making him marry her.

It must be observed, that it is now above a century since the inquisition of Rome has passed a capital sentence. Every thing there is transacted in private by spiritual and pecuniary penalties: none undergo a public punishment but blasphemers, and these picked out from among the refuse of the city. Their tongue is fastened between pincers made of two pieces of reed joined and tied at the two ends: in this figure they are led to the door of their parish-church, and there stand during the time of high mass.

MASTER of the SACRED PALACE.—The censor of books printed at Rome, and in the ecclesiastical state, forms the department of the master of the sacred palace. This post is annexed to the Dominican order. The person who filled it while we were at Rome was father Orsi, eminent for his birth, talents, and works, among which it is sufficient to name his Ecclesiastical History. In his appearance, and in every thing about him, there was a simplicity, modesty and candour, which would have surprised even a novice (f). At his house I was spectator of a scene which for its singularity deserves relating.

At the time of the *posseffo* the Jews in Rome are subject to a very mortifying ceremony, but strictly kept up. Near Titus's triumphal arch, the rabbis and elders of the *Ghetto* stand in a place fitted up at

(f) He died a cardinal, in 1761.

their expence. As the pope is on his solemn procession to St. John de Lateran, they step forth, and on their knees offer to him the Pentateuch in a bason full of gold and silver coins. The pope, making a stop, touches the bason with a wand, and performs the like ceremony on the head or shoulders of the chief rabbi, in token that he accepts of the Jews homage, and allows them to remain in Rome during his pontificate. The Jews, that their homage to Clement XIII. might be the more taken notice of, had purchased some original sonnets, and printed them in a large letter and paper, like proclamations, and hung part of their station with these testimonies of their allegiance. The author of these sonnets, in expectation of farther gain, digested them into a collection, to be sold on his account. The rabbi, who had paid for them, estimating their merit by the poet's expectations, seized the edition, as having originally purchased the pieces of which it consisted. The matter being brought before the master of the sacred palace, he summoned the parties; and I had the pleasure of hearing them dispute their claims, with all the vehemency of elocution and gesture to which the hope of gain could rouse a rabbi and an Italian poet, to whom the point in dispute was no small matter. Both parties being heard, P. Orsi adjudged the edition, paying the expence of it, to the rabbi, who exulted at the decision, whilst the poet hung his head. When they were withdrawn, I took the liberty to espouse the poet's cause, as connected with that of religion: "Why," says P. Orsi smiling, "I have given it on the side of religion. All the money

“ that the poet had got from the rabbi he has laid
 “ out in printing this collection, of which he would
 “ not have sold half a dozen copies: he would
 “ have been just like the dog in the fable, losing
 “ its prey in running after the reflection of the
 “ moon. My verdict against him was in fact for
 “ him.”

On my leaving Rome, father Orsi gave me, to deliver to a French bishop, a piece which appeared to him of such a nature and tendency, that he had caused the edition to be seized and brought away (*s*).

PENITENTIARY.—The penitentiary is a harbour against the prosecutions of the inquisition. It takes cognisance of all possible crimes, and grants absolution from them. The penitentiaries, on presenting a petition, obtain a licence for absolving, which is made out to them *gratis* by way of brief, in which is left a blank for the sinner's name. As to satisfactory penalties, it is only some Spaniards and Portuguese who submit to them. These are the creatures one meets with on the stair-case leading to St. Peter's dome, in the vesture of penitents, and labouring at pestles twelve or fifteen feet high, for pulverising marble to make stucco.

These absolutory licences were formerly paid for, and are a part of the *taxa cancellariæ apostolicæ*, which has raised such an outcry against the church of Rome. I have a copy of this tariff, printed at Paris by Galiot du Pré in 1533. In page 178, is the tax for making out the absolution

(*s*) *De Delectationibus cœlesti et terrenâ.* Auctore Josepho Carpani, S. J. 8vo.

pro eo qui matrem, sororem, aut aliam consanguineam vel affinem carnaliter cognovit; fol. 181, *pro eo qui interfecit patrem, matrem, sororem, uxorem, aut alium consanguineum, scilicet laicum*; *quia, si esset clericus, teneretur interfectorem visitare sedem apostolicam.* These are rated at seven or eight gros; and, according to the tariff of the value of coins at the end of the collection, each gros was equal to four sols Tournois. Now can it with any reason be inferred from these taxations, which were not pleadable in any civil court of justice, that the court of Rome kept a public office for encouraging all sorts of crimes, absolutions being easily to be obtained? This charge would reach the offices of secular princes; pardons, mitigations, commutations of penalties, &c. being there made out, by order of the prince, after certain knowledge of the cause.

CONGREGATIONS.—The other spiritual or ecclesiastical affairs are divided among various congregations, composed of cardinals and counsellors. These congregations are not unlike the several offices in the European courts: they have their settled meetings; and, in most, the stress of business lies on the secretary, who is always of the pope's immediate nomination. To keep to this comparison, cardinals are at Rome as the counsellors of state in France; and the prelates may be compared to the masters of requests, and counsellors of a supreme court.

The greater part of these prelates belong to the chancery, the datary, and the apostolic chamber. Legations, nunciatures, and places in the Rota, are generally bestowed on them; and several of

these places are *cardinalician*, that is, never quitted but on promotion to the cardinalship. Such are those of governor of Rome, treasurer and first auditor of the chamber, and dean of the Rota. A pope of the sixteenth century had added this reversion to the posts of clerks of the apostolic chamber; and he had fixed on them a suitable fine, that is, four hundred and fifty thousand livres, French money, which the incumbents left on their promotion to the purple. Innocent XII. judging this to favour of simony, suppressed it, to the no small vexation of the relations of some of his successors, who, however, have found out other paths leading to the same end.

The secular tribunals for the affairs of justice and the police are Monte Citorio, the Rota, the senate, the government, and the Consulta. The judges of most of these tribunals are ecclesiastics.

Monte Citorio, so splendidly built by Innocent XII. for all the subaltern tribunals to meet in, is at Rome the same as the *Parc civil du Châtelet* at Paris: all affairs are there transacted in writing, and laid before the judges by way of information: they are afterwards decided in writing. I have sometimes been present at these kind of hearings, where one or two judges, in long robes, sit in elbow-chairs at a table on which is a crucifix. The lawyer, in his short cloak and band, sits on one side of the table with his papers spread before him. Having opened the cause in a colloquial manner, he enters on his arguments and those of his adversary, setting forth the former in their full force, and combating the latter. If, in the narrative of the fact, the judge perceives any ambiguity

ambiguity or obscurity, he calls on the lawyer to clear it up : he likewise canvasses the arguments, proposes difficulties, makes objections ; in a word, these *informations* have more the appearance of a consultation of lawyers, than of a pleading before a judge. At one sitting, I heard a counsellor thus state and discuss five or six cases with a facility, clearness and precision, becoming the most august courts of Europe. Appeals from the Monte-Citorio decrees are brought before a particular auditor of the pope's nomination, and from his verdict an appeal lies to the Rota.

The ROTA.—This last tribunal, like the famous Grecian council of the *Amphyctiones*, is composed of auditors of all Roman-catholic nations. It takes cognisance by appeal of all civil causes within the ecclesiastical state, and, in first instance, of suits brought before it by foreigners. I never could know what sort of causes come before it from France : the Gallic liberties seem scarce reconcileable with the competency of such a court. It consists of twelve auditors, of whom the pope is president. The writings and processes here know no end ; the duties foreign from judicature, which are incumbent on the auditors ; their necessary attendance at court ; the long and frequent vacations of this tribunal ; the *sede vacantes* during which the ordinary courts of justice are shut up, being all so many avocations which divert the auditors from their chief functions. Farther, the causes which come before them, whether in first instance or by appeal, are not finally terminated till one of the parties has three uniform verdicts in his behalf ; and these

verdicts

verdicts are the more liable to exception, the judges being obliged to insert in them the motive and point of law on which they gave such decision. Besides, all the objects of demands, both principal and incidental, are canvassed separately. The recourse or rehearing is opened before the same tribunal, which is divided into four chambers or offices. How such a form of proceeding, multiplying the writings, and consequently the costs, must prolong the final decision, is easily conceived; and this is no longer final than as the party, who has been cast by three uniform verdicts, is pleased to sit down for thirty or forty years without applying for a second hearing before the pope himself, which is easily granted, for reasons to be set forth in the sequel, and which Muratori (*t*) certainly was not aware of, when he went so far as to arraign the forms of the Rota.

The auditors, though counsellors of the supreme court in Rome, are not allowed those distinctions in great ceremonies, for instance at pontifical chapels, which seem due to their weighty posts. At one of these ceremonies, I have seen an auditor who was a priest, sub-dean of the Rota, with many ample benefices, and who made a figure in Rome equal to the first persons of the court, such a one have I seen stoop to the duty of an acolythe, and humbly carry a candlestick; so true is it that extremities are in contact.

SENATOR BILK.—The senator, who is a secular judge, and always a foreigner, was a Ger-

(*t*) See chap. 9. of his treatise *De i difetti della Giurisprudenza*, p. 85. See also what Bouchet says on the same head in his *Séries*, p. 331.

man* gentleman, whose conversion to the catholic religion was rewarded with this post, which, besides being for life, gives the rank of a prince, and an apartment in the Capitol. He tries petty causes and quarrels summarily, and without appeal. He has for assessors, four conservators, who are changed every three months. Both these conservators, and the senator himself, are appointed by the sovereign, who does not leave to the Roman people so much as that small remainder of liberty, which towns in monarchies freely enjoy, the election of their own magistrates. In this tribunal is at present concentrated the *majesty of the senate and people of Rome*, whose title it accordingly bears.

GOVERNOR.—The high police is in the department of the governor of Rome, who, with a lieutenant and some assessors, likewise judges without appeal. He has every Wednesday an audience of the pope, to which he goes in no small state; particularly, before his coach walk twelve halberdiers, whose clothing is like that of the *gentlemen of the sleeve*, who make a part of the king of France's guard. The apostolic chamber allows him a thousand *sbirri* under a *barigel* or provost-martial, five hundred foot watchmen, and three hundred spies who daily report to him what is doing in Rome. By these arrangements the police has long since been on a footing at Rome, to which Paris was a stranger before this present century: it has an eye to every thing without showing itself, or causing itself to be felt. The *sbirri*, its ministers, are not in any great esteem: they however keep the populace in

* He was a Swede. *Transl.*

awe, and that suffices, people of credit having very seldom any thing to do with the police. They likewise are a check on the monks, being their natural overseers, either to keep them at a distance from nunneries, or infamous places, or to hinder their nocturnal excursions: but, for a little money dropped now and then to the *barigel*, a monk may divert himself at his pleasure, and the police shall connive at it.

At the theatres, the governor's box, though he be a prelate, is like that of the sovereign in other parts. The French embassadors having abruptly left one of the houses on account of some difficulty concerning the box, and the governor haggling about the matter, the ambassador set up the arms of France over the very box of the governor, went and seated himself among the company there, staying out the whole play, without a word from the governor.

By a custom founded on the manners of the Romans, the citizens, and even the cardinals themselves, instead of having flambeaus or cressets carried before them in the winter evenings, only make use of dark-lanterns. On the coming up of such a lantern, any one, whether alone or with others, who would not be known, has a right to call out to him who carries the lantern, *Volta la lanterna*, i. e. "Turn the lantern;" and on his non-compliance rushes on him with a sword or poniard: but this is seldom the case, the observance of that custom being a general concern.

The police of health and plenty is divided between an office and two prelates, one of whom is prefect of grain, and the other of the provisions. Report
is

is made to the health-office of every creature dying at Rome, men, women, and beasts down to the very dogs and cats. The office, in consideration of a settled fee, has the bodies removed, and takes care of their being put under ground. The most fleshy parts of dead horses, whose distemper was not contagious, are left to *fackini*, or porters, who distribute them about as a dinner for cats; a creature of which the people of Rome are very fond, but for whom the frugality of their tables does not provide a subsistence. This distribution is really something entertaining: the *fackino*, attended by two mastiffs, has a large knife in his hand, and on one of his shoulders a stick, at the ends of which hang the furloins of horses, which he keeps in balance by alternately turning the stick from one shoulder to the other: the cats, on hearing the distributors, instantly shew themselves at the windows, in the gutters, and at the doors, according as their dinner is near, or at some distance. I have seen five or six very fine sleek cats, regularly drawn up at the doors of several houses, waiting for, and successively receiving their allowance, without any quarrel, disorder, or confusion: those of the following houses come out into the street; and the more bold come about the purveyor's legs, and those of his dogs, who seem to be no wise displeased with these caresses. One of these purveyors, whom I once followed all along the street leading from la Piazza d'Espagna to St. Angelo's bridge, tickled with my seeming so pleased with his occupation, did all he could to improve my entertainment both on his part and the cats: at every piece, before
throwing

throwing it, he held it up a while, saying to them; *Piglia, monsou*, “ Take, monsieur,” supposing me a Frenchman. This distribution is performed daily, and at a settled rate.

The CONSULTA.—The Consulta takes cognizance of the complaints of the people against the governors, and of appeals from their sentences. All cities, those excepted which have legates, send their malefactors to Rome, where they are tried. In both criminal and civil processes a rehearing may be obtained, and after that a recourse to the pope; by which means punishments fall only on such forlorn wretches as are destitute of all manner of protection, and executions are as rare as crimes are frequent: besides, the greatest malefactors often escape by means of the asylums, whose ancient privileges still subsist in all their force. The corporal punishments are the *corda*, or strappado, scourging, the gallies, the gibbet, and knocking down. The last is inflicted in this manner: the executioner strikes the patient on one of his temples with a club, so that he drops down senseless: then he cuts his throat, and quarters his body, which remains for some time on the place of execution. This punishment may be less painful to the criminal than the wheel, but is more shocking to the spectators. Under the present pontificate there will be no capital punishments, Clement XIII. having made a vow or solemn promise to the contrary. The torture is performed only by extending the arms and legs of the party accused, so that his body being suspended, the back bone rests only on a picquet. Be the proofs ever so clear and strong,
the

the person accused must himself acknowledge his crime, before sentence can be passed on him.

FINANCES.—The apostolic chamber is to the pope as land-stewards to gentlemen of estates, and as attornies to religious houses. It manages the revenues of the demesnes, and of the temporal lordship of the Roman church, under a form of administration, of which the pope is absolute master. These revenues consist in the produce of the non-alienated demesnes, of the customs, of duties, gabels and taxes on provisions. The real and personal impositions, which are not known in the ecclesiastical state, are made up by a thousand petty taxes, which, without affecting the freedom of men and lands, yield very considerable sums. Pins, for instance, are farmed out as at Naples; and the farmers, to increase the consumption of their commodity, take care that they shall be none of the best. It must however be owned, that Rome is not pestered, as Venice and Genoa, with that endless multiplicity of imposts on the consumptions of inns, and consequently on foreigners. The Romans, equally with them, pay the duties on carriages and baggage, which is collected at the gates of Rome. A very odd circumstance in this duty is, that even the dead, so far from being exempted, make the most considerable article of it. The farmers of the duty required no less than a thousand Roman crowns for admitting into Rome the corpse of one of the princes Borghese, who died at Frascati; but this family smuggled it into the city under a load of hay. The same stratagem was put in practice for conveying away the body of the duchess de St. Aignan,

Aignan, though the duke her husband was at the same time embassador from France at the court of Rome.

Tobacco has likewise been farmed till the pontificate of Benedict XIV. About the year 1756, armed bodies of smugglers used to bring tobacco and other prohibited goods into the very heart of the ecclesiastical state. The farmers making repeated complaints, the apostolic chamber determined to disperse the smugglers; and for this expedition it commissioned the prelate, who at that time was prefect of Urbino. This general got together a little army of *sbirri*, under the country and city *barigels*; and putting himself at the head of it, he marched directly for a small town, near the frontiers of Tuscany, which was their chief rendezvous; but all the inhabitants had fled at his approach, leaving only an old decrepit creature of fourscore, and another at the point of death. This town the prelate made choice of for his head quarters, walled up the gates, and secured himself from any outrages of the smugglers, who remained masters of the country. After taking these measures, he had the old man and the dying person both tucked up. In a word, the business was drilled on so long, that this hanging, which proved the upshot of all that mighty expedition, cost the apostolic chamber two hundred thousand livres: this displeased Benedict XIV. to such a degree, that he suppressed the farm, and put tobacco on its former commercial footing.

Since this suppression the dealers have contrived a mixture of bullocks liver dried and pulverised,
saw-

saw-duft and pepper, which they sell for snuff, and for not less than the farmers used to sell it; and no other could I meet with throughout all Romania, the inhabitants now growing used to it.

Grain is the apostolic chamber's most considerable article, and apparently the most beneficial to the state, but in reality the most hurtful. Formerly this state supplied the city and territories of Genoa, and some parts of Tuscany, with grain; and at the same time, great numbers of cattle consumed at Venice came from these parts: whereas, since the apostolic chamber, in virtue of an exclusive privilege, has assumed to itself the purchase and sale of grain; since the landholders and farmers can dispose of their grain to the chamber alone; since it is only from the chamber's granaries that bakers can supply themselves; the demands of the Genoese have ceased, the country people have given over grassery, and both cultivation and population have been continually declining; in short, that exclusion is most truly a perpetual calamity. The grain purchased by the chamber being cut and inned at the time of the greatest heats, it is said, that in the beginning of the rains, the water with which they become impregnated makes such an addition to their volume, as to secure to the store-keepers a profit which well makes them amends for wages: but the advantage of measure certainly arises much more from the different manner of measuring, upon receiving and selling out the grain of the store-houses, than from the rain.

The DATARY.—The datary, where all collations for benefices are made out, is the most certain source of the papal revenue, and possibly would be the most considerable, were not a very great part of its produce swallowed up, under the appellation of *drink-money*, by a multitude of posts and employments appertaining to the datary.

Rome has very different thoughts from France concerning the effects of the *concordat* by which Francis I. gave to Leo X. the *annates*, or first-fruits, of consistorial benefices in exchange for the right of nomination to those benefices. Not that the Romans see it in the same light, as the Sorbonne, the parliaments and universities of France: so far from it, they affirm the pope to have been greatly hurt by that contract; that, of two rights which he was possessed of, one has been weakened by the loss of the other; and that the situation of things, even in the condition to which they had been brought by the Pragmatic, was less disadvantageous to him. Indeed, the pope owed no favour to incumbents elected by canons and monks; and now he cannot refuse those which the king causes to be asked of him for the subjects he names, and whom he gratifies without touching his own pocket, by procuring them abatements in the rates of their bulls. The cardinals, in order to put a stop to these favours, as diminishing their drink-money, had projected, under the protectorship of the last cardinal D'Este, to prevail with the cardinal-protectors of the several
crowns

crowns to give up the powers, which as such they are invested with in the rates of bulls; and they had succeeded: but cardinal D'Este would not come into that measure; he asserted the powers of his place as a prerogative of the crown of France, and carried his point. France, however, never met with better returns for those favours than under the pontificate of Benedict XIV. who could refuse nothing to the count De Stainville.

Spain has no less reason to be pleased with the same pontificate. During six months in the year; the pope had, *pleno jure*, the nomination to all benefices in that kingdom, even with cure of souls, by taking a year and a half's income for each benefice exceeding fifty ducats, and that paid absolutely without delay or deduction on any account whatever. It is even said, that the relations of the popes, under fictitious names, received pensions on those benefices. In order totally to extirpate such abuses, and rid the conscience of his successors of nominations extorted by patrons, by intrigue and importunity, to the prejudice of merit, Benedict XIV. put Spain, in this respect, nearly on the same footing with France: but this innovation is, among the Romans, one of the chief complaints against that pope, who indeed has thereby deprived Rome of great numbers of Spaniards, who resorting thither, either to obtain, or contest with those who had obtained, benefices, or to maintain themselves in what they had obtained, used to spend, in this capital of the old world, part of the riches of the new. By means of some arrange-

ments of the like nature, the king of Sardinia is likewise become his own master.

BANK-NOTES.—The far greater part of the wealth of the Romans lies in notes of the Spirito-Santo bank, and the several mounts of piety, whose names to their papers are what the name of the East-India company was to the bills of Law's scheme in France. Though the banks and the mounts allow only four *per cent.* interest, though no more than two and a half or three be actually received, yet some events, real or forged, are, by the management of an artful jobbery, known to raise their notes to twelve. Innocent XI. laid hold of a time when they were at the very highest, for offering to reimburse such proprietors who were not disposed to keep them, by paying to the bank thirty *per cent.* yet without increase of their capital. Almost all the proprietors chose rather to give away, as so much lost, the thirty *per cent.* than to accept of being reimbursed; for which the pope had before-hand made sure of money at Genoa, at the rate of only two *per cent.*

Other people have since found means to lodge in the bank and mounts all the Roman coin which they used to send away to Genoa, where all the payments were made in Roman crowns and zequins, whilst Rome had scarce a sufficiency for daily circulation; and still does this lie heavy on it, as the greatest blow it ever received of that kind. Of all the specie coined till the pontificate of Benedict XIV. nothing is to be seen but Testones and Paölis, which have been thought below notice, not from any regard
to

to the public, but because they are so worn away as to be considerably below their original value.

The people however are still persuaded, that the bank and the mounts are never without cash equal to the value of their respective notes. As for the difficulty of being reimbursed, that passes for a point of œconomy and prudential management; and he who, on carrying to the bank a note of two hundred crowns, gets ten in cash, and for the remainder a fresh note of a hundred and ninety crowns payable in eighteen months, thinks himself well off.

The funds of the bank and the mounts arise from the immense riches of the Spirito-Santo hospital, which are appropriated to them; from some branches of the revenues of the apostolic chamber, which at several times the popes have alienated in favour of the mounts, (as in France the king alienates some funds to the town-house of Paris, for making good the annuities payable on his account by that company;) lastly, from the large sums of money daily lodged in those places without requiring any interest.

By means of these funds the bank and mounts carry on, under the show of charity, a very lucrative trade, lending on pledges without interest for the term of eighteen months, and to the amount of a hundred and fifty livres French money (about seven pounds English): but, at the expiration of the eighteen months, the pledge, if not redeemed, is sold, unless the party keeps up the loan by paying interest for the eighteen months at three *per cent.* The receptacles of all these

effects are like a common wardrobe of the whole Roman people ; or rather

*Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulcrum**.

In these places there is a perpetual auction, where nothing is delivered but for ready money. This trade, mean and fordid as it appears, is very considerable, both in the capitals, and the certainty and proportion of the profit. It affords the people a resource, for which otherwise they must apply to the Jews : (*u*) and in this point of view it is, that the council of Trent has authorised, and even encouraged it. Plato would not have allowed it in his republic ; but *non in Platonis republicâ agebatur, sed de Romani populi fæce†*.

I have reckoned these objects among the revenues of the popes, for as they are absolute masters of the funds and their produce, they may dip into them *ad libitum*.

POSTS.—The various employments in the apostolic chamber, the chancery, the datary, the secretary's office, &c. have been erected into posts. The number of these, the original tax or fine of which is from one thousand to sixty thousand Roman crowns, is said to exceed ten thousand.

* Horat. Sat. vii. l. i.

(*u*) What the Jews can do in a city, where the people have from the state itself all the resources which in other places are to be had only of that body, is not easily conceived ; and indeed they are poor, even to misery and loathsomeness : twice a week is the piazza Navona strewn with their filthy rags spread out for sale ; and this is the substance of their whole trade.

† Cic. de Catone.

One person may hold a plurality, putting in deputies for those which are incompatible. To the incumbents who execute them themselves, they bring in seven or eight *per cent.* so that at Rome it is the best way of laying out money. Besides their being so many steps leading to the purple, the value of them all, as of the law-employments in France, is ever higher than, and often even double to, what it was at the time of the original sine. Hence the eagerness for purchasing new-created posts; an eagerness which the popes take care not to balk: hence likewise the prodigious number of idlers whom the state has on its hands, paying them as if they worked.

These posts, as in France, though with some difference, are a part of the sovereign's escheats. They are lost by death, but may be disposed of till the age of seventy years, provided that, at the time of resignation, the party has no incurable malady on him, as consumption, asthma, &c. and that the resigner survives the sale forty days. It is computed, that by these measures there is not a post which does not revert to the sovereign three or four times every century. The government hath often been advised to repurchase them on the footing of the first sine, as Innocent XII. did those of the clerks of the apostolic chamber; but the popes, ever grasping at present emoluments, cannot be brought to plough up a meadow, which every year produces so plentifully.

To the revenues of the popes must likewise be added the produce of the salt-pits of Cervia, a very considerable article; and that of the lottery, which is drawn eight times a year. This lottery

is on the same plan as those of Genoa and the military school in France; and the people of Rome give into it with all the precipitation of hope, incited by present necessities and the spirit of calculation: in short, the lottery is to this people the locust which consumes what the caterpillar had left.

By these revenues it was, that Sixtus V. besides the ordinary expences of court and government, and even doubling these expences by undertakings worthy of ancient Rome, found means to accumulate, during only the three first years of his pontificate, the three millions of gold which he laid up in the castle of St. Angelo, certifying this deposit by three bulls inserted in the *Bullarium magnum*. This deposit is said to have remained hitherto untouched.

GOVERNMENT-SPRINGS.—This cursory glance on the government of Rome sufficiently lays open its springs, the weakness and subtilty of which are scarce perceived by those, who, having found the machine wound up, have nothing to do but to set it in motion.

Love and fear are the two great hinges of all government; and its scope is, or should be, to direct the actions of men for the public good. That of Rome is of so particular a nature, that it does not concern itself about any such scope, nor has it those supports. Protected against foreign enterprises by a respect for religion, and without sufficient forces to command respect at home, it derives its safety from this, that it is the interest of the several parties which compose it, not to desire, but even to dread its dissolution;

tion ; and that the want of dutiful and affectionate sentiments in the subjects is made up by the most substantial securities for their fidelity.

Such securities the sovereign has obtained, by getting into his hands all the wealth of his subjects, and all the objects of their dearest hopes. By these means it is that the nobility and commonalty of Rome, and all the ecclesiastical state, are connected with the papal government.

By the bank, the mounts of piety, and the posts, the pope is master of their wealth, as in those receptacles are included all the moveable riches of Rome and its dependencies. Of the immoveables and lands he is master by the monopoly of their produce to the apostolic chamber ; by the accounts which are always kept dependent between the landholders and farmers and the apostolic chamber, which takes care never to be before-hand with them ; lastly, by the difficulties raised to retard the clearance of accounts : and, if to these embarrassments and fetters be added the endless length of law-suits, scarcely any can be imagined more forcible and intricate.

A Roman has a son in a post leading to higher employments, which may throw open the road of fortune to all his family : at first he had a smaller, of which he received the price in bank-bills, which remain in his port-folio. All this Roman's debts, both active and passive, lie in these papers. Another part of his substance lies in the bank or the mounts, having been placed there by himself, his father, or one of his ancestors. He has a suit for an estate, as plaintiff ; in another, for a succession, he is defendant : one is but just entered on, and
of

of the other he may pretty well guess the issue from two corresponding verdicts already given. Now can such a one, without shuddering, think on a revolution which may overthrow that constitution to which he finds himself tied in so many respects? Will the ivy ever wish for the fall of the tree, round which it twines as its support?

PEOPLE of ROME.—These ties, great and small, are common to the prince, and to the citizen of any substance. As to the lower class, it is connected with Rome and the government by the constant low price of bread, the holidays, and church-solemnities; by the places of *sbirri* and of spy, or by the hopes of being one; by the easiness of procuring patrons; by the multiplicity of reliefs for the poor; by the endowments through which they hope to procure settlements for themselves and their children; in a word, by all the resources which sloth can desire, and which are not to be met with under any other government. These were the very same allurements by which the populace of ancient Rome was kept together: *Retinete*, said Cicero to them, in opposition to colonising schemes, *retinete istam possessionem gratiæ, libertatis, suffragiorum, urbis, fori, festorum, cæterorumque omnium commodorum**. As to the other resources which I have just now specified, the same Cicero in another place makes a due estimate of them: *Frumentariam legem*, says he in his speech for Sestius, *C. Gracchus ferebat: jucunda res plebi Romanæ; victus enim suppeditabatur largè sine labore. Repugnabant boni quod ab industriâ plebem ad desidiam avocari putabant*. To the picture of the

* Cic, contra Rullum.

lazy and precarious life of the Roman people Tacitus adds these disgraceful lineaments: *Languescit industria, intenditur socordia cum nullus ex se metus aut spes; et securi omnes aliena subsidia expectant, sibi ignavi, aliis graves* (x). So that the people of modern Rome may say, "We are beggars, but it runs in our blood."

The condition of all the citizens of Rome is as singular as the constitution under which they live; and it is in this particular that modern Rome is most like the ancient city. In its most happy times, that is, to the year 650 from its foundation, according to Cicero, there were scarcely two thousand house-keepers in it, *qui rem haberent**. And it is much to be questioned, whether as many could be found among the hundred and fifty thousand souls, or thereabouts, which modern Rome is reckoned to contain.

The great officers of state, and eight or ten ancient families, but eclipsed by four or five whom the triple crown has enriched and promoted, these, together with foreigners, supply the public luxury: but in this luxury alms bear a very considerable part. We have seen the richest Roman prince not spending above twenty-four sous a day for his table, and the furniture of his house suitable to such parsimony, yet distributing millions in alms of various kinds.

(x) I had thought of striking out the Latin with which the original text is interlarded, and of replacing it with French translations; but I was dissuaded from it in favour of men of letters, to whom no translation would be an equivalent.

* Off. L. ii. c. 21.

This superabundancy of charities, which to sloth are as honey to hornets, answers the *congiaria* of the emperors, and is productive of the like effect.

The middle state, every where else formed by the citizens and trades-people, is unknown at Rome. There is no medium between opulence and poverty. "The rich," says Mr. Sandys*, "are the richest of men; and the poor, the most indigent creatures in the world; an excess never known in a well-governed state." Extremities exactly touch each other; every member of the state either gives or receives alms. No small part of the wages of the numerous retinue of the cardinals and nobles consists in alms, under the softening appellations of *buone mancie*, *good festivals*, *Far-Agosto*, *welcomes*, *good journies*. The eldest of every family, under the respectable title of *Decano*, is in this respect the solicitor, the receiver, and the cash-keeper, to his fellow servants: in short, among the Romans themselves, it is a saying, "that there is not a burghers of Rome but would sell the very sun for three Paölis."

The persons of easy circumstances are not to be sought for among the lower dignitaries of the church; nor among the set of lawyers called *Curiales*; nor among those marquisses and counts who, with the title of *Maestri di camera & Scudieri*, are as profoundly versed in ceremonials as the Germans are in the civil law; nor, in fine, among the placemen belonging to the different offices of the court: all these live more on hope than on

* Account of the State of Religion, c. 7.

substance. The demise of a pope and the vacancy occasioned thereby, together with the suspension of all kinds of business, reduce them to objects of alms. The only class, which a decent competency and the privilege of independency put on a footing with all the other ranks, are the consistorial counsellors. In this class Benedict XIV. had spent the finest twenty years of his life, and there acquired that sprightliness, wit and urbanity, which stuck to him on his exaltation, and so happily counterbalanced the many disagreeable circumstances of the pontificate. I have heard, that when a young lawyer, he took a trip on a party of pleasure to Genoa with some of his brethren of the gown, who were for returning by sea: "Do as you please," said Lambertini, "you who have nothing to risque; but as I shall come to be pope, I must take care how I trust Cæsar and his fortune to winds and waves."

In fine, the description given by Mauro of the precarious life of the Roman people includes every class, both of court and city.

In Roma miseria e speranza.*

"Rome is made up of wretchedness and hope."

A description chalked out on that which Juvenal has left us of Rome in his time:

Hic vivimus ambitiosâ paupertate omnes.

A fondness for ornament and parade is the hobby-horse of the Roman people: to this all other inclinations give way: it regulates and directs

* Capit della Fava.

the expences of the rich and the great: what it saves in good cheer, or comfortable living, it lavishes on entertainments, equipages, liveries, and external show. And equally ambitious are the people amidst all their penury: shambles, the butchers and their stalls, are all set off with linen as white as snow: the fruiterers shops are disposed in curious designs, as if for a fight: the shoe-maker, the very cobbler, decorates his stall with snips of gilded leather. When some public festival is at hand, a whole family shall, for a day or two in a week, abate of their usual food, even of bread, that they may coach it at that time in the public places; and those families, for whom such an expedient would not answer, take other measures. The mother, dressed like a *duegna*, attends on her *zitella* (daughter) in all her finery: the father follows in a livery, and his hair in two twisted queues. Should some *Appius* cast a look or desire on this *Virginia*, the *Virginius* at her heels would not offer to renew the tragedy which suppressed the authority of the *Decemviri*. This passion for glitter and parade (and it rages not less on parents than daughters) is an open door to intrigues. It is found with the lowest poverty: all these *zitelle*, so very spruce and showy at the public places, have scarce a gown to their backs at home: one shift is their whole stock, which their good housewifery will not allow them to lie in, and which every Saturday, after going through a sloop-wash, is displayed at the window till perfectly dry.

From this itch of seeing and been seen, the
people

people of Rome are more given to staring about than any other in the universe : the same multitudes of spectators always croud to the same festivals and the same ceremonies.

It is very seldom that there is any thing new in them ; but when this happens, all eyes are greedily fixed on the novelty. Without any such design, without so much as a thought of it, I made myself a show at Rome by a taffaty umbrello which I used to carry about in my walks. The trades-people came out of their shops, the better to see a sight which was altogether new to them : they were quite amazed, that a man on foot should take on himself the honour of an umbrello, which princes themselves only use on the greatest ceremonies : the very colour excited their wonder, all the ceremony-umbrellos being red, and mine was green.

The POPE.—From the people let us proceed to the sovereign ; that is, to him who, though the chief of the state in dignity, and often in age, is for the most part the last in knowing what is transacted in it. His quality, as first of the bishops, overwhelms that of first of sovereigns, under a ceremonial which makes his life as wearisome and doleful as that of a young queen of Spain. He is ever alone *per la dignita*, immersed in temporal affairs, if disposed for business ; encumbered with congregations, most of which are held at his palace, and with ecclesiastical solemnities ; surrounded by a court, the greater part of whom do not care how soon he breathes his last, or rather daily wish it ; in short,
all

all his relaxations and diversions amount to no more than some excursions in the city under pretence of devotional stations, and to a public audience or two in a week to foreigners in general, conversing with those whom he happens to like best.

All popes have not been slaves to this troublesome ceremonial. Leo X. and Sixtus V. found means to shake it off. Innocent XI. himself, though by the Romans ranked among the saints, during the far greater part of his pontificate smuggled himself from the ecclesiastical solemnities. A cold or defluxion often stood him in good stead on the most indispensable occasions. Ever invisible, he governed his dominions as God governs the world. His melancholy cast and the austerity of his temper, infecting all about him, spread a gloom in which Rome was involved during his pontificate.

Benedict XIV. had excluded this ceremonial from a little apartment which he caused to be built in the gardens of Monte-Cavallo: thither he generally retired after dinner to drink his coffee, and, with some of his most intimate familiars and select foreigners, would sacrifice to pleasantry and laughter as if he had not been the pope. His excursions into Rome were generally on foot, with a large cane in his hand; and, so far from confining himself to the sand which is strewn every day in those streets through which the pope passes, he would even strike into little bye-streets, where never pope was seen: he has more than once stopped at the door of a public house where people were making merry, and would say *con gusto* to abbé Bouget, his usual attendant

attendant in these walks; "I warrant ye, mon-
 " signor Bouget, there's rare wine there." These
 freedoms, which Benedict XIV. allowed himself,
 the people of Rome could by no means digest:
 they, and even his very guards, used to say of him,
*E un birbante questo papa**. And I myself have
 often heard them say, relating to the daily ram-
 bles of Clement XIII. at the beginning of his pon-
 tificate, *Sarà un birbante questo papa come l'altro*†.

It was with much greater reason that Rome
 complained of Benedict the XIVth's manifest
 aversion to business, which, though no person
 was more capable, he totally left to cardinal
 Valenti. Any thing might be obtained from him,
 taking him by this aversion; and this was the
 French ambassador's way, to whom, starting up
 from his seat, when he found himself urged too
 home, he would sometimes say, "Well then, tell
 " your king, for whom I have such an affection,
 " and who requires so much of me, to come and
 " take my place." The assassination of January 5,
 1757, is perhaps the only thing he ever laid to heart.
 He has more than once been known to break
 off audiences on important affairs, when solicited
 to enter into a discussion of them, crying out in
 a pettish angry manner, *Mi faranno morire*, "They
 " will be the death of me." Such a slave did he
 continue to that love of life, that he could not
 prevail upon himself to sign the bull, urged by
 cardinal Saldagna, for the suppression of the
 jesuits in Portugal, till his last illness, and then

* "This same pope is a black-guard."

† "This pope will be such another black-guard as the
 former."

not till all his physicians had positively assured him that there was no hope of his recovery. Some time after that signature, he put his hand to another bull, relating to the beatification of a jesuit, and delivered it with these words; *Cum dilexisset suos, usque in finem dilexit illos*. Though he did not love those fathers in his heart, they have obtained from him as many favours, and even sacrifices, as from any of his predecessors; and concerning this he would sometimes say, *Grandemente confido nelle preghiere di questi buoni padri per viver lontano**. There were very few occasions which did not produce some genteel raillery, atticism, or smart saying, from him. During the last conclave, an English gentleman made a collection of them, with which it is to be hoped he will favour the public; and what Cato said of Cicero would be no unsuitable motto, *Habemus profeſſo facetum consulem*.

That hilarity, which in him dispersed all the gloom of the papacy, is generally derived from the tranquillity congenial to a fine soul: it is as nearly allied to candour and probity, as it is remote from falsity and meanness. Besides the qualities productive of chearfulness, Benedict XIV. was long eminent for an unparalleled disinterestedness, and a truly christian disregard of all the advantages, which his station put in his hands for the promotion of his family. The Romans cannot but rank him among the best popes, if not among the greatest; that is, when they shall begin to forgive his having held the pontificate eighteen years; for

* “ I depend greatly on the prayers of those good fathers, that I shall have a long life.”

every Roman building hopes of mending his station on a change of the pontificate, nothing rankles him more than a pope's longevity. In estimating the merit of those popes who have reigned with the greatest lustre, they distinguish the man from the prince and the prelate: for instance, Pius V. say they, was only a good prelate; Sixtus V. a cruel man, a great prince, and bad prelate; Paul V. an ambitious and rapacious man, an enterprising but weak prince, a middling prelate. There are but three popes whom they will allow to have been great princes, good prelates, and worthy men; Clement VIII. Clement IX. and Innocent XI. austere as his pontificate seemed to their fore-fathers. They now begin to rank Clement XI. with them; and Benedict XIV. I make no doubt, will come in for his turn: he has the very same right to their esteem as Clement IX. whose chief merit is, to have done as little for the Rospigliosi, as Benedict XIV. for the Lambertini.

Did the popes, to insure the immortality of their name, consult the example of their predecessors, the inutility of the most ambitious efforts for fixing grandeur and opulence in their families would put them on disinterestedness, as the most certain way, though the least frequented.

When we were at Rome, the last prince of the house of Pamphili was still living: he had no children, and his death was to be followed by the long-expected opening of Innocent the Xth's will, wherein he had arbitrarily disposed of the immense wealth which he had accumulated for his family. On our return we were informed that prince Pam-

phili was dead, and that, on opening this famous will, Innocent had intailed the whole between the Dorias and the Colonnas.

The latter had already got into their hands the vast inheritance of the Barberini family, after all the expedients of Urban VIII. for eternising his name. This holy father had carried them so far as to appoint, by a bull *ad hoc*, that, in case of the failure of the male branches of his name, his estates, of which he made a perpetual intail, should, exclusively even of lawful daughters, go to male bastards, even though the issue of monks or nuns. The intail however has not gone beyond the second degree, his nephew leaving only two children, one of whom was cardinal Barberini, who died dean of the sacred college in 1739; and the other a daughter, married into the Colonna family. The cardinal-dean had a bastard, who bore the name of Maffeo; but here that unreasonable appointment, by which he was to succeed in the intail, to the exclusion of the lawful daughters, was set aside; and he had only a pension allowed him, the estate going to the Colonna family in right of the cardinal's sister. The prince her husband has condescended to bear the name of Barberini, and by a *mezzo termine* has taken that of Palestrina as a principality belonging to the intail, but which hereafter must sit down with the bare honour of being allied to the house of Colonna.

I have heard, that cardinal Salviati, founder of the orphan hospital, and one of the richest prelates of the sixteenth century, had a clause in his will, which, though very singular, was yet better grounded than that of pope Urban.

In

In the want of issue male to inherit the large provision he had made for his family, an orphan of his hospital was to be chosen by lot for the intail: a disposition which puts one in mind of that of Crates, whose children being minors, he ordered that their succession, which was to remain sequestrated till they came of age, should be delivered up to them if they proved to be of mean parts; otherwise, to be distributed among the weakest of their fellow citizens.

These ambitious settlements, which are very common at Rome and in all the ecclesiastical state, meet with great encouragement. The eldest, and all the children of the best families, if they have either talents or ambition, betake themselves to the church, as the only way leading to regard, riches, and the most substantial honours, leaving the business of perpetuating their name to those of their brothers who are unfit for any thing better; or who, voluntarily sacrificing themselves, are in their families like drones among bees, or as our sex was among the Amazons.

Had the popes considered the celibacy of the clergy in a political light, had they reflected what a check it is to the peopling of their states; they would, as princes, have done as much to proscribe such an unnatural and pernicious regulation, as, in quality of popes, they have done to strengthen it, and give it an irrevocable stability.

Intails are no less ruinous to cultivation, than celibacy to population. An usufructuary deals with the lands which come to him by this

tenure, as a beneficiary with church-lands, or a trustee with an estate in chancery; *Oves bis mulget in borá; et succus pecori et lac subducitur agnis.* He takes care not to be at any extraordinary expences for keeping the lands in heart: he never concerns himself about augmentations or improvements, to which property alone can incite. It is indeed something amazing, that, in countries which seem intent on agriculture, so striking an example should be overlooked, and that intails are not limited only to those houses, which by their important services have deserved that the state should interest itself in the preservation of them. Why are estates, got at any rate, to be perpetuated among the descendants of individuals, often such as were battered at the public expence? The leaving of these possessions open to sale will be an incitement to the industry of new families; and, should these ruin themselves by improving their purchases, still would this imprudence be a general good.

In some countries this has been taken into consideration, by limiting intails to three degrees. It would have been better if, excluding from intails real estates, which are the chief object of them, they had been limited to deeds of gift, and other such effects, of which the mismanagement, and even the dissipation, do not affect the state.

I have said above, that among the later popes Clement VIII. is one whose memory is most beloved among the Romans. The portrait of this pontiff, drawn from the life by a cotemporary, has some singular features of resemblance
between

between him and Clement XIII. now reigning:
 “ The present pope,” says Mr. Sandys*, “ is ac-
 “ counted a sensible, good-natured man ; not over
 “ cunning, but very close and tenacious ; easy
 “ with his friends, and very devout in his reli-
 “ gion, of which he seems thoroughly persuaded.
 “ He is often seen to weep ; which some will have
 “ to be from an habitual tenderness of heart, while
 “ others attribute it to piety and devout contri-
 “ tion. At his masses, processions, &c. his eyes
 “ are always bathed with tears ; so that, as the
 “ last pope was a *Democritus ridens*, this is a se-
 “ cond *Heraclitus plorans*.”

Every body knows that Clement XIII. was, like his predecessor, exalted to the pontifical chair quite unexpectedly both to the public and himself ; but it is not so well known, that after France had set aside cardinal Cavalchini, the French cardinals had it in their power to place the triple crown on the head of cardinal Porto-Carrero. This cardinal, the last of his family and of his name, having, by dividing his succession and relinquishing his subsistence, broken all the national ties which linked him to Spain, professedly made Rome his country. Under an exterior not very promising, he added to Spanish phlegm a large portion of Italian subtilty. Embarking in the world only as knight of Malta, he might of himself and by his own merit have risen to great fortune, even without inheriting his patrimonial estate. *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, was the fundamental rule of every part of his behaviour ; so that

* Account of the State of Religion.

Benedict XIV. used to call him sometimes *lo Spagnoletto*, (*i. e.* the Spaniel) sometimes *Laus perennis*. In the conclave of 1758, as chief of the Spanish faction, to which the political union of the two crowns had joined the French and Austrian factions, he was the soul of the three, and had at his disposal thirty-five votes, which would have been strengthened by cardinal Passionei's squadron. The unexpected exclusion of cardinal Cavalchini was a thunder-clap to the French cardinals themselves, who, being quite novices to the intrigues of the conclave, had been drawn in to join in his election : but the game being, by this exclusion, to be played over again, they might have offered the *tiara* to cardinal Porto-Carrero ; whereas they only asked him how they must proceed. " This is the instant for the " Holy Ghost," answered the Spaniard, *terram intuens modestè*. The meaning of this language escaping even the sagacity of the cardinal De Luynes, some more steady and resolute measures immediately decided the election for Clement XIII.

As they were carrying him from the conclave to St. Peter's altar, a common man, clinging to a pillar of the grand stair-case leading from the great hall, called out with an enthusiastic vehemence, *Della parte di Dio, santissimo padre, l'emendazion di questa città piena di sceleratezza e d'abominazioni** ; and repeated it several times without any menace, or so much as a reproof.

FOREIGNERS.—Till the pontificate of Alexander VII. Rome had been the centre of the nego-

* " For God's sake, most holy father, reform this city, " so full of wickedness and abominations,"

ciations and political motions of all Europe: a perpetual congress might be said to be held there of embassadors reputed the very best heads of their several courts; and they who were in the embassadors suite, vied, as it were, with each other in doing honour to their nation by the decorum of their behaviour. Accordingly, there is nothing which the celebrated marquis de Bedemar, in the instructions he drew up for his successor in the embassy at Venice, recommends so strongly as a very scrupulous choice of the persons who are to compose his retinue.

Though Rome be no longer such a crowded theatre, yet is there always a great concourse of foreigners of all nations drawn hither by curiosity, devotion, and the conclaves. These foreigners are above disguise: the Englishman behaves as at London, the Spaniard as at Madrid, the German as at Vienna, and the Frenchman as at Paris: but the manners of these nations are not equally suitable to those of Rome; and from these manners it is that the Romans form their judgment of the different nations. The conclaves bring to Rome a number of young noblemen, of whom the greater part, having no other motives for this journey than those of interest and fortune, look on it with the same eye as Ovid considered his exile from Rome: they condemn the people, the language, and every thing which they might and should make a matter of entertainment; and sometimes they shew this contempt in a manner the more disobliging to the Italians, as very few nations are so delighted with being esteemed by foreigners. These young sparks judging of the Romans from
the

the seriousness which they put on in public, it brings to their remembrance the governors and masters from whom they have been lately delivered; and to this seriousness they oppose frolic, volatility and giddiness. Being at length obliged to keep at home, and not finding there entertainments to compensate for those of public converse, they give themselves up to lassitude and disgust, which increasing by communication, sends them away from Rome, quite out of humour with the Romans, who are not much better pleased with them (y).

This, and this alone, is the real source of the unjust prejudice of the Romans against the French; a prejudice of as long standing as Rome itself, and from which Cicero said of the ancestors of the latter, *Si homines ipsos spectare convenit, non modò cum summis civitatis nostræ viris, sed cum infimo cive Romano quisquam amplissimus Galliæ comparandus est**.

France, in its negotiations at Rome, makes use of munificence to soothe, or loftiness to suppress, this prejudice. The cardinals of Este, who under Francis I. and Henry II. † represented France at Rome, made use of the former way for dazzling the eyes of the Romans, to which they were in some measure stimulated by the example of the ambassadors of Charles V. who even in

(y) “What a thoughtless people are we!” said Montaigne: “to make known our vices and follies to the world by reputation, is not enough; but we must needs go to foreign nations to make sights of ourselves.” *Essays*, L. ii. c. 27.—In another place he extols the wisdom of Plato’s laws, prohibiting travelling under the age of forty or fifty.

* Pro Fonteio.

† See their lives in Brantome.

magnificence (z) would outdo his rival. The cardinal of Lorrain carried it even farther than the cardinal of Este ; but this ostentation was part of the scheme which that ambitious priest had formed for the grandeur of his family. Of late no foreign minister at Rome has shone with a lustre equal to the cardinal de Rohan : he outdid himself in his negociation for promoting the abbé Du Bois to the purple, backing it with toys and trinkets to the amount of forty or fifty thousand livres. In his closet he had tables covered with them, and dealt them about indiscriminately. A Roman was sure of a present ; and on his leaving Rome, he expressed a concern that he had not been able to give away all his store. A continuance of such liberalities would in time remove all prejudices, and reconcile the Romans to the French interest, did France think such a purchase worth its while. Rome is still what it was when Jurgurtha, at his departure, looking back on it, cried, *Urbem venalem, si emptorem invenerit !*

Loftiness is still a more certain way of operating on the Romans. That of Lewis XIV. in his disputes with the holy see, has impressed on them such respect and veneration for the memory of that prince, as in their idea place him on a level with the Antonines, the Constantines, and the Charlemagnes. Of that glorious prince Henry IV.

(z) “ It behoves you, Sire,” said the bishop of Tarbe to Francis I. in his dispatches of the 27th of March, 1530, “ to bear in mind, that this is a place of great importance to you : and your service requires, by all means, to send hither a man of spirit, and who is able to spend high ; for, among other follies of the Italians, take my word for it, nothing goes farther with them,”

they

they have no knowledge but from that disgraceful absolution to which he submitted for cogent reasons of state, which they know nothing of, and from the memorial of that abasement (*a*) which his ministers weakly allowed to be set up in one of the most frequented places of Rome (*b*), with this inscription, which remained till the last pontificate (*c*.)

D. O. M.

CLEMENTE VIII. PONT. MAXIMO,

AD MEMORIAM

ABSOLUTIONIS HENRICI IV.

FRANC. ET NAVARR. REGIS CHRISTIANISMI.

Q. F. R. D. XV. KAL. OCTOB. MDXCV.

What was intended by the four initials in the last line, I know not.

One of the late ambassadors from France made a very happy experiment of what may be effected

(*a*) This was chiefly cardinal Du Perron's doings, who afterwards shewed what he thought on the subjects of the two powers, when he opposed the article moved by the *Tiers Etat*.

(*b*) In the piazza de Santa Maria Maggiore.

(*c*) Pursuant to that condescension, of which the famous Aretin wrote to Francis I. in this manner: *Ecco il religioso costume de i vostri predecessori che vi facendo consentire à le richieste de i Pontifici, non vi lascia scorgere in che modo le lor lingue di mela, mosse da i cori d'assentio, sono simili à le passioni delle femine le quali hanno in un occhio pianto di duolo, e nel altro lagrima di insidia.* "You follow the implicit devotion of your predecessors, who complied with all the demands of the popes; and this hinders you from perceiving that, if they carry honey on their tongues, their hearts are full of wormwood, and that, like women, their grief is only to deceive." Vol. ii. p. 12.

among

among the Romans by a freedom accompanied with dignity, a steady and resolute conduct, and sometimes even a little loftiness in very critical cases: by such a carriage he brought them to all that could have been obtained by artifice, liberality, and intrigue, and thus gained, to his court and the French name, a consideration of happy influence for all the objects of his ministry. I have heard, that at a time when he had some dispute with the papal court, there came suddenly on his hands a prince of his nation, with a numerous attendance of young adventurers, who had accompanied him from a desire of seeing Rome. The ambassador being by his station governor of these sparks, so far from recommending reserve and circumspection to them, encouraged them to live gaily, and not tie themselves down to the dull rules of the Italians; and, as for the consequences, he would take them on himself. The frolics of so many young gentlemen left to themselves made that noise which he had foreseen, and spread an alarm that at once put an end to the dispute.

This minister was one of those *brave and gallant gentlemen of the blade*, whom, from a multitude of well-chosen instances, Brantome proves to be preferable to gowns-men, even for the embassy of Rome, *where the honour of the prince often suffers for want of the ambassador's making a bold and spirited reply**. Exclusive of the cases mentioned by Brantome, the most common objects of negotiation must very often be extremely perplexing to a prelate. "You, who are a bishop,"

* Life of Francis I.

it is urged to him, “you who may soon expect
 “to be a cardinal, put yourself in our stead, or
 “rather make it your own case: see, consider,
 “yourself, what we can do concerning your
 “proposal; weigh it in the balance of the sanc-
 “tuary, &c.” What firmness is to be expected
 from a minister, in whom the combined characters
 of priest and ambassador are continually thwarting
 each other?

There are few countries where a true judgment
 is formed of new comers so speedily as at Rome:
*Gens emunctæ naris, natura cui verba non potuit
 dare*, says a famous jesuit* of the modern Ro-
 mans. Their concern to study one another, pro-
 duces a habit which forms them to this sagacity:
 this is the pole-star by which they steer their
 behaviour towards those with whom they are to
 have any intercourse, or dealings. They cannot
 be long imposed on, either by a dull or pro-
 mising mien: to them this is no more than the
persona tragica, the mask to the fox. A show of
 frankness, an airy carriage, puts them out of their
 biases, and puzzles them the more, as being less
 a-kin to that gravity in which they muffle them-
 selves, that others may not see into them.

GRAVITY of the ROMANS.—This gravity never
 leaves them in public, not even in the parties
 of pleasure which seem contrived to shake it
 off. At a formal dinner with a prelate I hap-
 pened to let fall a joke somewhat roguish: this
 turned the eyes of the Italians towards the prelate,
 who smiled, yet with an air of uneasiness: this
 smile was the signal which set the whole company

* Vavassor de ludicra dictione.

laughing as if they never would have given over ; and it was not so much at the joke, and my ignorance of their customs, that they laughed, as to see one another laughing in the house where they were.

In private, however, they make themselves amends for the constraint they observe in public. Nothing can be more chearful than their clubs, where a knot of trusty friends freely give themselves up to that tranquil gaiety, which is suited to the natural seriousness of their character, and in which consisted the *urbanitas* of the ancient Romans. There one may laugh even at persons who are part of the company ; there the *spropofiti* of a foreigner esteemed so far as to be admitted into those meetings, and who is never reproved in public for dialectical mistakes, are made matters of merriment ; there they laugh more, and more heartily, than in any other place on earth ; lastly, there a thousand tales are circulated, of which the Romans have an inexhaustible fund ; and such excellent relaters are they, that their manner always gives an air of novelty to their story. Let the following serve as a specimen of them.

In the combat between St. Michael and the devil, the archangel, perceiving that his spear was rather an incumbrance than of any service to him, shot up again to heaven, and snatching a thunderbolt hurled it at Lucifer, so that his body flew about in shivers : his legs fell in France ; and hence the petulancy of the French, their passion for rambling, and the difficulty of settling them : Lucifer's head was carried as far as Spain ; and to this is owing the pride, the stiffness, and overbearing

bearing carriage of the Spaniards : the hand with which the fiend used to pilfer, Naples got ; and that with which he squeezed, was Genoa's portion : his stomach was picked up in Germany : lastly, the least honourable parts of his body alighted in Rome, *e per questo*, add they, *tutti noi Romani siamo cogl.....**

The Italians have retained those words which other languages have cashiered, as politeness and good manners came to prevail among them. The objects expressed by these words are an ample field for the convivial muses. In a word, Italy swarms both with obscene (*d*) and devout sonnets. Their infancy is accustomed to nudities, as were the Greeks and Romans, and as the savages still are. Their ears are as little moved with the expression, as their eyes with the representation, of objects, the indecency of which has been lessened by habit. It was from a deep-rooted custom, that after Benedict IV. was exalted to the pontificate, one of the most obscene words in the Italian language equally escaped him, both in his anger and his mirth ; that is to say, it was almost always on his tongue. This word, and its counter-part, are the most common oaths, or rather interjections, among the Romans. *Per Dio* (by God) is seldom or never heard, on account of the penalties pro-

* “ And this has made all us Romans such wenchers as “ we are.”

(*d*) I have brought from Naples a collection called *La Cicceide*, the third edition. This collection contains four hundred and twenty sonnets or madrigals, proving four hundred and twenty different ways, that one Don Cicceio is *in terminis a cogl.....* This kind of wit is the soul of the *Murtoleide* of Marino, &c.

nounced

nounced against blasphemers ; whereas *per Dio Bacco* is in every body's mouth.

The merriment of private clubs never shows itself in public but during the carnival : no where is that entertainment carried so high as at Rome ; it is a perfect transcript of the ancient *Saturnalia*, in all its frolics. I have heard of a thousand scenes, the agreeable levity and festivity of which gave me some concern, that I was not at Rome in so jocund an interval : yet the sight perhaps would have fallen short of my ideas ; *minuisset præsentia famam*.

RELIGIOUS.—I have said, that among the inhabitants of Rome nothing is seen of the mediate class between opulence and indigence ; of that body of citizens among whom, in other states, is found the *aurea mediocritas*. Instead of that creditable class, one sees an innumerable crowd of regulars of all orders and all colours ; a set of mortals, to whom the air of Rome is as heat to flies, multiplying them, and making them more bustling, more obstinate, and more troublesome ; and of whom it may more properly be said than of the rustics, *Fortunatos sua si bona nôrint !*

And indeed they might quietly enjoy the fruits of the labours of their founders and primitive fathers : they are free from the trouble of acquiring, and that of enjoying, which not seldom is the greater of the two : every circumstance concurs to secure them in a peaceable life, which they might divide between study and the duties of their function ; but, as if engagements and vows only irritated the passions, they seem to have no sense of the advantages of the monastic life, wholly

fixing their eyes on some disagreeable circumstances of it. Scarce is there, in all Rome, a religious, without a system of promotion, or without personal views and concerns quite foreign from any views and concerns of his order : every one peremptorily follows the clue which he fancies will lead him to regard, opulence and dignity : the success of some stimulates the hopes and efforts of others ; whilst few are they whom the examples of so many who fail by the way, deter from engaging in the competition. In a word, the monks are at Rome like the abbé de Moliere's little vortexes in the physical world.

The Coriphæus of these intrigues was, during our stay at Rome, the procurator-general of an order, to the supremacy of which he aspired in his way to the highest preferments. The suppleness of his body seconded that of his mind. I used to meet him in all the drawing-rooms : he was frequently whispering with the leading men ; and he had wormed himself into all affairs and secrets. It is said, that he very nearly missed being made a cardinal by Benedict XIV. In a word, he had lately ruined one of his brethren, a rising man, at whom he had taken umbrage. A private conversation, which he once drew me into, was of great use to me in knowing the man. He began with mighty compliments on my being so much in favour with a cardinal, to whom he never could be allowed access : “ You alone,” said he, “ when with his eminence, have constantly seen *cælos apertos* ; which gives me the highest idea of your talents for insinuation. There is no place where you can turn this talent to greater advantage, both to your
“ friends

“ friends and yourself, than Rome ; and thus you
“ may reap both pleasure and profit from your tra-
“ vels.” I answered him, that no Carthusian
minded profit less than myself ; that, however, I
so far relied on the cardinal’s goodness, as to ex-
pect success in any proper solicitation, either for
myself, (should I, contrary to expectation, come
to stand in need of it) or for others, whom I should
think deserving of his countenance. “ That’s the
“ very thing I meant,” replied the monk ; “ and
“ a friend whom you don’t think of stands in need
“ of your intercession.” On my desire to know who
this friend was, he named a gentleman of Lower
Britany, whom, he yet allowed, I did not know,
but whose friendship would be the fruit of the
good offices which it lay in my power to do him ;
and such a friendship as should be cemented by an
acknowledgement which he intirely left to my dis-
cretion. Being aware of his drift, I told him that
with me the absent were always in the wrong ; and
that the motives which he intimated, might deter-
mine me in favour of persons who were on the spot.
This declaration puzzled him ; and after some
pause, he desired our interview might be ad-
journed till the day after the next : this I readily
agreed to, it being the very day fixed for my de-
parture.

About the same time, died at Rome a Celestine, who had distinguished himself in the profound sciences. Ten thousand Roman crowns were discovered in his apartment : his friends said that he intended them for founding a library ; but all the monks gave out, that he was for dying a bishop at least.

What every regular does to attain distinction for himself, and rise above his fellows, every jesuit does for his order. Interest, regard, profits, the various gains, acquisitions, and fruits of merit and industry, are all referred to the common stock for augmenting the interest, the opulence, and grandeur of the society; a grandeur which receives increase both from the close union of its members, and the discord which a selfish spirit has produced in the other orders. Amidst the fruitless clamours of those bodies, the society makes its way, like a close battalion, with united strength, despising the disorderly attacks of light troops: on one side *plena omnia consiliorum videmus*; on the other, *plena verborum omnia**.

The ostentatious show which the jesuits make of their opulence, perhaps may not exactly square with sound policy. All Rome knows, that in the course of that year, when with regal sumptuousness they built the palace which the abbé de Canillac since lived in, they expended on that palace, and purchases made at Rome or in the environs, four hundred thousand Roman crowns, without borrowing a single bajoco: yet they continue begging; and, agreeably to the primitive institution, *Giesu's* house subsists, say they, only by these gatherings, which bring in sums answerable to their superb expenditures. When we were at Rome, there died a rich Florentine prelate, who used to give them about fifty louis per month as alms; and this good work he crowned by making them his sole legatees. All his effects which were at Rome went according to the will; but, as for

* Cic. de Orat. L. i.

the immoveables which lay in Tuscany, the imperial ministry at Florence thought fit to secure them for the testator's family.

The only corps from which the jesuits have to fear, (and yet they seem to make no account of it) is the congregation of the (*e*) *Scuole Pie*. This congregation, which was formed in the last century, on the model of the brethren de St. Yon in France, has already its *literati* and its esteemed writers ; it is likewise possessed of great wealth, and its interest is daily on the increase. The administration of this body, being no less political than that of the jesuits, catches hold of every thing the latter overlook, insinuates itself into all the voids left by them, takes advantage of all their mistakes, and possibly may prove the stone which shall overthrow this Colossus, and set itself up in its stead.

The other orders are above their wants, and well settled in town and country : *fruuntur paratis* under the privileges which the popes have heaped on them. The Franciscans I think call the collection of theirs *Mare magnum* ; and this sea has broken down all the boundaries which the ancient

(*e*) Lascelles, who saw this institution in its infancy, speaks of it in this manner, Tom. i. p. 3. 304. “ They are a company of good religious, going bare-legged and with sandals : they teach poor children the first rudiments to fit them for the college of the jesuits, *gratis* ; and, besides teaching them, attend them when they go into town, that they may not bring back or practise any of the corruptions of the age.”

The fathers initiated in this humble profession have no higher views : they affect neither erudition, wealth, or splendor ; a great reproach to the would-be wits so common among us.

ecclesiastical laws had set up. How rapidly these privileges have spread, appears only from comparing the present state of the Franciscans with the bull of Sixtus IV. who, being a Franciscan, granted to his brethren, as a very special favour, to sing high mass in their convents among themselves, but with the doors shut, and an hour before public service.

A reducement of most of the new orders to their primitive state would prove the total dissolution of them; whereas reformation has strengthened that of the Benedictines, dividing it into congregations of a constitution still better calculated for temporal than for spiritual views. This order is secured from revolutions by its right of eldership, by the nature of its possessions, by the manner of the administration of them, by its having long since set bounds to its acquisitions; lastly, by the weight which it derives from the great number of creditable persons, who in Italy embrace it, in hopes of getting abbies, (the far greater part of which are still regular) and afterwards of rising to the posts which those abbies usually lead to.

Yet is it one of the pope's and his ministers chief businesses, to elude and shift off the projectors coming daily with schemes for the foundation of new orders, or the reformation of the more ancient. Cardinal Valenti, secretary of state to Benedict XIV. was beset by two monks who were for reforming their discipline under his auspices; and the manner how he got rid of their importunities was this: having, after much solicitation, admitted them into his closet, he told them

them that the Holy Ghost, whom he had consulted about their pious intentions, had inspired him to add to it, that its authors should set an example of the disinterestedness and humility on which the reformation was to be grounded, by renouncing all dignities and superiority. The reformers extolled the inspiration, and the cardinal heard no more of them and their project.

RELIGION.—Such of the Romans as are virtuous, are not so by halves; and modern Rome still includes, in the practice of virtue, that sublimity of which ancient Rome set a pattern first to the Pagans, and then to the Christians. Models of this kind are scarce; but in what city, or what country, are they very common? They are the more to be wondered at in Rome, as public instruction in that city is very little edifying, and the common exercises of religion are so many external observances, which seem to be addressed only to the senses.

Italy and Rome indeed are full of congregations, fraternities, and foundations, of a religious nature. From the frequency of jubilees there is no want of missions and preaching. The principal object of such institutions as those of the Jesuits, Philippins, &c. is the instruction of the people. Lastly, canonisations daily hold forth new patterns of a sanctity almost cotemporary.

CONGREGATIONS.—But congregations, diverting the people from the parish-churches, draw them out of the canonical path laid down by the church through the ministry of pastors. The conventicles set up one against another by

the new religious orders, hold their meetings privately; so that the instructions delivered there want that publicity, which both the welfare of the state, and the gospel, require in the functions of its ministers. The directors of such assemblies may be supposed less intent on inculcating the sacred truths, than infusing into their followers a blind and exclusive zeal for the prejudices, the concerns, and prosperity, of the order under whose banner they have listed.

FRATERNITIES.—The fraternities promise no better fruit. A certain number of seculars form a society, where, on Sundays and the festivals, they perform in common the canonical office. Every fraternity is distinguished by the colour of the domino in which the brethren muffle themselves. The greatest noblemen join in one or other of these societies, which were never thought of till about four hundred years ago. Death itself makes no separation, the brethren always taking care to be buried in the chapels where they meet. The prior of the fraternity is commanding officer; the very priests, who enter into it, being subject to his orders. In the choir he acts the priest's part; and whilst the other officers attend to their several posts, some walking about, as vergers, with staves of the colour of the fraternities, others as acolytes, &c. the prior gravely chants out the last lessons, the last anthems, the Pater-nosters, &c. Most of these gentry know not a word of Latin: from one Sunday to another they are studying their parts; but on the more solemn days, as in Passion week, when under a necessity of performing

extempore,

extempore, they often fall into strange improprieties, as edifying to their ignorant brethren, as they are comical to Latinists. I have heard that this verse of the *Tenebræ*, *Vos fugam capietis, ego autem vadam immolari pro vobis*, was pronounced by a very grave prior in this manner, *Vos furcam capietis, ego autem vadam in mala pro vobis*.

The festivals of these fraternities are so many contests of magnificence : the least gay of these shows is that exhibited in the octave of All Souls by the *Fraternity of Death*, which is one of the richest. In a very spacious vault under their chapel, one first comes to a kind of a hall hung with red paper, and having pilasters and niches, the bases and chapters of which are made of real death's heads, with lights so disposed within them, and bits of paper laid over the eyes and the jaws, as to shed a dim and reddish glimmer, the only illumination in this lugubrious place. In the niches are large desiccated skeletons, among which I was shewn that of the beautiful Paula, whom her red tresses still covered down to her middle. This same Paula was a modern Roman beauty, who disappointed an attempt on her chastity by imitating the example of the ancient Lucretia : the fatal stab is indicated by a breach in the skin over her breast. Farther on, in another vault, resembling a large burial-place lighted with torches, are laid seven or eight dead bodies, as natural representations of the progressive degrees of putrefaction. In this mansion of death, in the midst of a spectacle, the sadness of which is increased by the strong factor of the

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the bodies, amidst the loud thumps with which a crowd of well-meaning souls were bruising their breasts, I observed signs were made to the *zitelle*, or girls, to keep them in heart ; whilst on several of that sex, who were left to themselves, the horror of this exhibition had its intire effect, being carried away in a strong *deliquium*, without the least sign of sense or knowledge.

On this octave all Rome flocks to St. Gregory, that is, to the monastery on mount Celius, on the very site of the house in which this pope was born, and near the place which the Romans called *Clivus Scauri*. St. Gregory relates, in his Dialogues, that, having caused thirty masses to be said for the soul of one of his monks, this soul appeared to him, in an effulgence of glory, to inform him that, by means of those intercessions, God had released him out of purgatory. Such is the origin of this act of devotion, to which I followed the crowd. It is become a point of honour to have one's name entered for thirty masses, which are paid for beforehand. The first visit is made to the great church, which was intirely rebuilt by the learned cardinal Quirini, with very splendid embellishments. From thence we resorted to a private chapel, noted for having the table where St. Gregory every day used to entertain twelve poor persons : there were once thirteen, though only twelve had been admitted ; the thirteenth was Jesus Christ himself. Next is seen the chapel of St. Sylvia, St. Gregory's mother. On the two walls of this chapel Guido and Dominichini painted, in competition, the martyrdom of St. Andrew, two pieces which all connoisseurs cannot sufficiently admire. I was told,

told, that when they were finished and laid open, a woman coming into the chapel, and her eyes alighting on St. Andrew falling on his knees at the sight of his cross, she expressed her astonishment at the excellence of the piece with a kind of enthusiasm; and that afterwards, turning towards the St. Andrew whom his persecutors are stretching out on the instrument of his torture, she burst into a flood of tears. The statues of St. Gregory and his mother, at the farther end of these two chapels, are either by Michael Angelo, or copies from him. On going out of St. Gregory's the crowd turn off into narrow and crooked streets, extending among gardens, small churches, and ruins, all over the inhabited surface of mount Celius, which is no small piece of ground. During this ramble the pilgrims say prayers, and repeat the chaplet for the dead.

I accidentally fell in with a more entertaining festival, given, I do not know not on what account, by the fraternity of the Holy Ghost. The morning-office was just over. After taking a view of the chapel, which was decorated in high taste, I went into the adjoining apartments, which I found strewed with flowers and odoriferous herbs, and the walls covered with boughs and festoons. On entering a large hall, I was struck with the sight of the whole fraternity sitting round a very elegant ambigu: one of them was pleased to come to me with a very polite invitation to partake of their entertainment. The wine was excellent, and spread among the brethren a cheerfulness, which however did not carry them beyond the strictest decency.

St. Anthony brings together a concourse of another kind. On his festival, all the horses of Rome, dressed out in the finest trappings, make their appearance before his church, where, for a fee, according to the circumstances or devotion of the owners, they are sprinkled with holy water. The pope's stable itself is not exempt from this asperision. Some will say, that, the better to keep it up, the monks of St. Anthony and the coachmen and grooms of great houses, whose example supports it, go halves*. To its rise I am an utter stranger. It seems, however, something extraordinary, that the coachmen and grooms should not have given the preference to St. James, who has a little church in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's, called *Scoffa Cavalla*; the origin of which is mentioned in all the descriptions of Rome.

SERMONS.—I once spent a whole day in following the exercises of a mission occasioned by a jubilee of Clement XIII. The morning was taken up with a conference, two sermons, and a solemn mass: the afternoon's exercises were two sermons, and a grand exposition of the host. The conference turned on some punctilios, by which casuists estimate sins. Of the two preachers, who alternately stood on a large *estrade*, covered with a black carpet, one was a buffoon, who stuffed his discourse with a thousand tales, right or wrong; yet so excellent a pantomime, that his gestures and grimaces gave a considerable relief to his stories, among which, to

* *Vid. Script. Antiquit. Rom. De Conso et Consualibus.*

my great surprise, was that of father Philip's geese, even as it stands in Boccace. Indeed I was so shocked at it, as to mention it with some displeasure to a cardinal, who crying out, "What a novice you are in the world!" shewed me, in St. Antonine's sermons, that very tale with all its embellishments. The manner and matter of the other preacher were of a piece, the former quite lifeless, the latter stiff, and laid out in jejune divisions and sub-divisions; the whole very mean. One of his sermons was on God's mercy towards a sinner; mercy before conversion, and mercy after conversion. The first part was built on all creatures, animate and inanimate, conspiring against the sinner, whom they would destroy did not God put a curb on their endeavours; and the second expatiated on the favours conferred by God, by the virgin, and by the little Jesus, on all the devout women of the later ages. The sermon concluded with an act of contrition, and a protestation of the whole congregation never to sin any more; which they expressed by uttering the word *Mai* with all their force, and at the same time weeping and sobbing, and beating their breasts. I have heard, that at the conclusion of one of these acts, the preacher made proclamation, that it had been revealed to him, that one of the congregation refused to be converted, and therefore he was going to find him out, and drag him to the altar; that he actually did come down from the *estrade*, and bustled along through all the rows, and then returned to his

rostrum,

rostrum, where he declared to the congregation, that this hardened wretch had at length repented, and was firmly determined to give himself up to God.

The pulpit being one of the paths leading to fortune, the Lent and Advent stations are much coveted by all who conceit themselves possessed of oratorical talents: these stations likewise excite a spirit of rivalry between all the religious orders, and often manifest the prevalence of intrigue over merit.

Benedict XIV. had procured one of the principal pulpits at Rome for a regular of his country, who, unhappily for both, did not top his part. A conversation at the pope's palace falling on the preachers, the profoundness of one was extolled, the devotion of another, the delivery of this person, the composition of that; not a word of the Bolognese, till a by-stander, thinking to ingratiate himself with the pope, concentrated all those eulogiums in his favourite: the pope, who was not to be imposed on, angrily interrupted the flatterer, *Siete come la piattola che gira, e rigira, e sempre torna al cogl.*

The orders, most in repute for erudition and understanding, keep to the common way of instruction. Of this I gave an instance in the Dominicans at Venice. I was once present at a conference which the Jesuits hold every Saturday. The subject of this conference was the necessity of giving one's heart to the blessed virgin; and it was proved both by the misfortunes which have happened to thousands of people

people for neglecting this duty, and by the advantages it procures to those who carefully observe it. The second part turned on the story of a young princess: she had made a solemn offering of her soul and body to the virgin Mary: by the death of her two brothers she unexpectedly became heiress to her father's dominions, who, without minding her peremptory refusals, and her declared aversion from marriage, promised her hand to the heir of a neighbouring state: all the youth and charms of the future bridegroom could make no impression on the devout princess: in a word, the night preceding this forced marriage she spent in prayer, and called on the holy virgin to display her power in supporting the solemn engagement which she had contracted with her: her prayers were heard; one of her eyes sunk in; a loathsome leprosy spread over her body, and the most beautiful princess in the universe instantaneously became a frightful object. This story, with all its appurtenances, on which the preacher's imagination luxuriantly expatiated, took up the greater part of the conference, and let me into the reason why a French Jesuit, whom I had met at the church-door, was so very urgent with me not to go in.

The sermons made by the novices of all orders, at the corners of streets, to the meanest of the people, are futile declamations on purgatory, hell, &c. All the truth lies in stories, the ridicule of which is the less glaring from the custom of hearing them. The people know nothing of religion but by these tales, which

to them are so many articles of faith: accordingly, when, at the sight of the Egyptian idols placed in one of the rooms of the Capitol, a prelate cried out, "Good God! is it possible that a whole people should so long have worshiped such objects?" he received for answer, "It is not the people, but the priests, who are to be wondered at."

This ignorance, in which Rome, and almost all Italy is kept, has necessarily an influence on their manners. The unprincipled, ignorant commonalty, are without any other impressive documents than the punishments of criminals; and these are very rare. The torments of the other life, so often thundered in their ears, might be a curb to a people less acute, less hacknied in dissimulation, and less concerned to doubt of such a state.

In the same principle I thought I perceived the cause of the indifference of this same people for the interest and persons of its sovereigns; an indifference which at Rome is not a matter of wonder: but one is surprised to meet with it likewise in a neighbouring state, whose sovereign is of no more concern to the people of that state than the Grand Turk.

The form of instruction, the forsaking of the parish-churches, the contempt of the secular clergy, are perhaps the results of a systematic plan for establishing ignorance, which, especially at Rome, is the very foundation of the regular clergy's interest, and the strongest support of the sovereign's greatness.

This ignorance, considered in a political view,
is

is not without its reasons, which I shall specify from Muratori*: “ Since the settlement of the Lombards
 “ in Italy, the church has, for a long succession of
 “ ages, enjoyed a repose and tranquillity which
 “ might be envied. Vices of all kinds indeed tri-
 “ umphed bare-faced, but the people believed what-
 “ ever the church taught them : and if this be any
 “ advantage, ignorance, the mother of superstition
 “ and a thousand evils, produced it : not that it is to
 “ be desired, that the people, and especially the
 “ clergy, should have only a nominal acquaintance
 “ with the principles of its belief ; yet where the
 “ people and the clergy do not affect any great
 “ compass of learning, and relying on tradition,
 “ keep to what they learnt in their childhood, no
 “ heresies are to be apprehended, provided however
 “ that occasions be wanting. These are always
 “ more dangerous for the ignorant than the know-
 “ ing : it is through learning, and its attendant
 “ pride, that all heresies have sprung up in the
 “ church : not that religion has any thing to fear
 “ from learning and knowledge ; they are its
 “ surest fences, yet easily thrown down, if not
 “ resting on submission and humility. In a word,
 “ throughout that long series of barbarous ages, the
 “ public belief owed its stability and preservation
 “ to the ignorance and incapacity of the people and
 “ clergy to engage in those questions and disputes,
 “ which, by disturbing the quiet of the church,
 “ have often made Europe a scene of bloodshed.”

It was merely from the same principle, that an Italian regular, being asked whether he believed the transmigration of the *Santa casa*, made answer,

* Dissert. 31.

“ In believing every thing, the only inconveniency
 “ is to be reckoned simpletons and noodles;
 “ whereas seeming to doubt of any one point is
 “ very dangerous, as he who doubts of one point
 “ may incur a suspicion of doubting of all, the
 “ motives of belief and doubt being nearly the
 “ same in all. Therefore we chuse to be reckoned
 “ noodles in believing all, rather than expose our-
 “ selves to trouble, by frivolous doubts concerning
 “ any article whatever.” An admirable expedient,
 truly, for believing nothing by believing every
 thing; and as convenient as that, in virtue of
 which, a great number of devotees, still modestly
 ranking themselves with saints, indulge them-
 selves in every gratification, and all with a clear
 conscience, from the maxim *Sancta sanctis*.

The purgatory, the rosary, the stations to which
 the people throng on Sundays and holidays, the
 singing of litanies every evening before the Madon-
 nas at the corner of the streets, the lighting a wax
 taper on Saturday evening before an image of the
 Virgin, which no house is without, together with
 the *angelus*'s at noon and in the evening, make
 the sum and substance of the most usual religious
 observances at Rome. Concerning the last, I re-
 member that a young *mezzano*, or procurer, was
 proposing to me an amour; for at Rome this
 creditable employment is ingrossed by the men.
 In the midst of his overture, the *angelus* strikes,
 and my gentleman immediately doffs his hat, and,
 still keeping close to me, says the prayer very
 devoutly. When over, he asked me my answer;
 which was, that during the *angelus* I had been
 favoured with the gift of continency.

I must

I must not dismiss the article of instruction, without observing, that for some years past the parochial priests, to recover their esteem, take very great pains in catechising the children, and, to animate them by emulation, have settled prizes, rewards, and honours. Of these the chief is the title of *Emperor della dottrina christiana*, which is conferred, but after the strictest examinations, on the boy who is most expert in every part of the catechism. This investiture is performed with the splendor which accompanies all Roman ceremonies. The emperor, attended by a court and a retinue all in *gala*, and the ranks regulated according to the proficiency of the children, has an audience of the pope, and afterwards is admitted to the cardinals, the person styled King of England, the ambassadors, and all the great personages at Rome. If these exercises do not terminate in memory only, great advantages may be expected from them, both in knowledge and morality; a change which will equally appear both in the people and the clergy. It may be forwarded by the chosen books in all languages, which some cardinals of late cause to be translated into Italian, and printed at their own expence, to be distributed among the people. I heard one of these cardinals answer one of his brethren, who was praising his great liberality in this article; "Why, what can we do less? we neither administer the sacraments, nor preach; so that this is the only way we have to serve the church, and not be useless drones in it."

CANONISATIONS.—Canonisations make no farther impression on the Romans than what a certain legate expressed in these words; *Isti novi*

sancti faciunt dubitare de antiquis : and as to the ceremonial part, all they mind about it is, that it fills Rome with company, and causes a good deal of money to be spent. To the laity the new saints are persons of another world, whose virtues are scarce applicable to common life : they are founders, regulars, brothers, sisters, of orders which have money enough to answer the expences of having the great gates of heaven opened to them : the hopes of attaining to these honours is what prompts those who, from a religious cast, or want of abilities, decline worldly honours, to enter into those orders, and supports them in the trying course of their perseverance. I have been told, that since the popes have reserved to themselves an exclusive right of bestowing these honours, St. Roch is the only secular, who has obtained a public worship ; and this worship is but a bare toleration. The time may perhaps at length come, when some pope, by the canonisation of some European laic, known by his countrymen to have discharged, *in gradu heroico*, the duties of a son, a husband, a father, and a member of society, shall set before the men of the world a pattern of virtues within their sphere.

The rooms, in which lived the saints canonised during the two last centuries, have been converted into oratories, which are open to the devotion of believers, and the curiosity of foreigners, who visit them on account of the excellent collection of paintings in them.

The chamber of St. Stanislaus Coska, in the novitiate of the Jesuits, is remarkable for its
 paintings,

paintings, some autographical letters of St. Ignatius framed and glazed, but chiefly for the image of that saint lying on the bed in which he died: it is as big as life, and for workmanship accounted the master-piece of the famous Le Gros, who wrought the young Jesuit's vesture from a block of black marble, with the head, hands, and feet, in exquisite white marble.

The Philippins of the *Cbiesa nuova* have shewn the same regard to the chamber where their founder died. There they shew his bed, his mattresses, his crucifix, and some of the furniture which belonged to him. There are few houses in Rome of a more superb architecture, or containing more valuable productions of the fine arts: yet these very good fathers, it seems, amidst all this splendor, have retained *that piety, and truly apostolic simplicity*, which father Mabilion had admired in them. Those qualities I likewise admired in P. Bianchini, nephew to the prelate of that name, who has been immortalised by M. Fontenelle; and these virtues derived no small lustre from his share of that vast knowledge for which his uncle was so eminent.

FUNCTIONS.—All civil and religious ceremonies, attended with ^vpomp and splendor, at Rome are distinguished by the appellation of *Functions*, and are no mean *succedaneum* to the shows for which the Roman people had such a rage.

Of all these *functions* the most brilliant is that of the *Possesso*, or the pope's cavalcade when he goes to take possession of the church of

St. John Lateran, accounted the first church in Rome, and the mother church of all christendom. I saw Clement the XIIIth's *Possesso*, which was full three miles in length, reaching from the Vatican through the whole extent of Rome. This is the only ceremony in which the pope appears in all his spiritual and temporal grandeur. He is preceded and followed by above two thousand horsemen divided into squadrons, the variety of which makes a very entertaining show. The most brilliant of these squadrons is that of the cuirassiers; whose officers, being completely armed in the old manner, give an idea of the gorgeousness of ancient military spectacles: the richness of the armour, all of the most curious damask work; the embroidered half-mantle, or *paludamentum*, hanging from the right shoulder; the sash, in some round the waist, in others over the shoulder; the *aigrette* and plumage shadowing the helmet, form a garb with which all the modern gewgaws will not bear any comparison. The cuirass and head-piece of the Swiss guards put one in mind of the Ligue's infantry in the frontispiece of *La Satyre Ménipée*. The Roman barons are on horseback in black, and cloaked; with short hair, frizzled and full of powder; pumps and white stockings, and their hat under the arm: every one is preceded by four pages cloaked likewise, in long hair and embroidery: about the bridle and stirrups walk grooms; and his train consists of twenty footmen in glaring liveries. The cardinals, the upper and lower dignitaries,

nitaries, and all the pope's household, in ceremonial habits, made a part in this cavalcade; and even father Orsi himself, though turned of eighty, as master of the sacred palace. The least showy, and at the same time the least convenient accoutrements, are those of the cardinals: their hats, which are quite flat, are fastened to their head only by strings tied under the chin: their long mantles cover the horse's whole body, like a caparison; and the two corners of the cloaks being made fast between his two ears, the rider has no means of clearing himself in case of any accident, which indeed is little to be apprehended, several footmen going on each side of the horse, and watching its steps. All the finest horses in Spain and Sicily are produced on this occasion; and their beauty, and graceful stateliness of motion, are no small addition to the spectacle. A Venetian, who was just come from Constantinople, where he had seen the new sultan go in procession to St. Sophia's mosque, assured me, that, setting aside the beards and turbans, it was exactly like the pope's.

They who led the cavalcade having moved forward, I saw Clement XIII. get on horseback, at the foot of the Vatican great stair-case, by means of steps which reached to the stirrup. Being a Venetian, he had a right to take every advantage, though in the interval from his election to the *Possesso* he had not been wanting to practise in Monte-Cavallo gardens. The pad which he rode was a very beautiful white mule, a little dappled, and led by grooms,

The pope in his left hand had a switch, which he used now and then to make his mule quicken its pace; and with his right, he was continually blessing the people. Being seated in the saddle, his setting off was proclaimed by a general discharge from the castle of St. Angelo, on the top of which was displayed the church's banner. At this signal all the people, with whom the neighbouring streets were crowded, fell on their knees, calling out, *Santo Padre, benedizion*. The pope was so affected with this superb commencement, that I saw the tears run down his cheeks: afterwards, mingling with the crowd which lined the streets, I heard, among the invocations of *Santo Padre, benedizion*, some, who with a hollow voice muttered, *e grosse pagnotte*, ("and large loaves.") Some were reckoning their age by the *Possessos* which they had seen: I heard others observing that Benedict XIV. made his procession in an open chair, with a chaplet in his hand. What would these good folks have said of a pope, who, to display all his prerogatives, had made his appearance as a prince, and armed *cap-à-pié*? However, in the procession were particular persons, one carrying a helmet, others gauntlets, which, I was told, were those of the pope.

The cavalcade from the Vatican to St. John Lateran took up near two hours. On their arrival, the greater part, and all the people, dispersing over the large square before that church, the pope, the cardinals, and some prelates, after taking possession, went up to a gallery over the great door. There the pope on his

throne

throne repeated some prayers relating to the ceremony : they were very apposite, and pathetically pronounced ; and the people observing a profound silence, every word could be distinctly heard all over the square. On the conclusion of them the *tiara* was put on the pope's head, and his first solemn benediction was answered with an universal shout of the people, and a discharge of all the artillery in Rome. This ceremony is so striking, so august, so truly glorious, that a Genevan, who was present, owned to me, that at the instant of the benediction he felt himself a catholic.

Another ceremony, which makes Rome all alive, is the presentation of the pad ; in which I could not help observing, that the creature, which is taken out of the pope's stables, and has been the same for seven or eight years, is used to kneel down before the pope on its fore legs, which it does very gracefully. On its croup is a large silver flower, with its stalk and leaves, and in its calix the cedula or acknowledgment of homage, which is annually presented to the pope in the name of the king of Naples, as his liege-man. This *function* is accompanied with a fire-work, played off three evenings successively, in the Farnese square. The decoration of every evening is different, the last is the most brilliant, and they all vary from the decorations of the preceding years. That of 1758, designed by the architect Posi, represented a large Chinese coffee-house, distributed, on each of the two grand fronts of the decoration, into nine rooms differently furnished. In the middle of the decoration stood a Chinese octagon tower, of nine stories distinguished by rough cornices,

at the angles of which hung little bells. The fire was distributed and served with all the dexterity and exactness for which the Italian engineers are so eminent.

The eighth of September, being the nativity of the virgin, was celebrated by a *function* which is repeated only every tenth or twelfth year. The Minerva Dominicans carried in procession the Madonna of the Rosary. This Madonna, who is as big as life, and dressed in the newest fashion and richest stuffs, frizzled, powdered, perfumed, and all over ribbons, laces and jewels, is seated on a lofty throne, in the midst of a machine superbly ornamented, and being very heavy is carried by thirty men, among whom the burthen is equally distributed by means of those interlaced levers, in the management of which the porters at the sea-ports are so very dexterous. The Madonna, with all the Dominicans of Rome before her, and the general at their head, was followed by two hundred girls, from fourteen to seventeen years of age; walking two by two in an uniform of white serge, and veiled; every one with a wax-taper; and one boy had garlands on their heads. After morning service they had received the portions distributed annually by the fraternity of the Rosary, which is very rich. These portions are about two hundred and fifty French livres for those who are disposed to marry, and twice the value for those who will embrace the convent. The latter headed the procession, and were honoured with the distinction of the garlands. The veils of all rather shade than cover their faces. I did not see one that might be said to be pretty, and very few of a tolerable shape. The portions
they

they receive in bills, which are paid by the cashier of the fraternity on their marrying, or taking the veil.

Ten or twelve fraternities give such portions; and there is no regulation against a girl's offering herself to each of these fraternities, and receiving the portion. They who have interest may offer themselves two or three times at the same fraternity; and the aggregate sum of these portions makes a stock, which with industry and œconomy will set up a frugal pair.

Rome is full of those foundations, for which religion lays opulence under contribution; such as the conservatories, some of which are for orphans, some for children brought thither by their parents, and not seldom taken from them when their poverty endangers their morals; such as the houses of reformation for disobedient children, or who are taking bad courses; houses for young women tired of a loose life, and others for wives under the misfortune of having bad husbands. I never could hear of any such asylums for husbands in the like woeful case. The devotees in general concern themselves more about women than men: besides, from the Italian manners, the happiness of a husband depends on himself.

As to these foundations, might they not be improved to the benefit of the state? In the conservatories, and houses of reformation, children are brought up only for a town life: embroidery, knitting, needle-work, singing, and music, is all the children are taught, according to their dispositions; and the trades, to which some houses put them out, attach them still more strongly to a town

town life. If in those houses, which might be scattered among the environs of Rome, part of these young folks were trained up to rural occupations; if the charities of which they are the objects, were employed to settle them in the country, to provide them with a little cottage and necessaries, and fix them there by the property of some small spot to clear and improve; were the apostolic chamber, were the great landholders, in imitation of the methods which have peopled our northern countries, to farm out such parts of their estates as now lie waste for want of hands; such management would preserve these young people, now left to themselves, from perishing in licentiousness, sloth, and disappointed expectations; the Campania of Rome would fill apace, without thinning the town, and every year be productive of a new swarm of one or two hundred families; in a word, as colonies were the strongest support of the grandeur of ancient Rome, so would they relieve modern Rome from that dismal solitude and scandalous indolence in which it now languishes. But these are vain speculations; the manifest preference given by fraternities to religious vows, too plainly evinces how very far these pious societies are from any œconomical views: it may likewise be a part of the government's system, that the population of the ecclesiastical state shall remain as it is. *Vacua se jactet in aula.*

THEATRES.—Among the shows at Rome we are not to forget theatres for operas and plays. These theatres, which are open only in winter, are

are under the cognifance of the governor of Rome. The communions, which differ from that of Rome, make a great outcry againft the pope for this toleration, and exult in contrafting Geneva and Rome. But the leifure of the people and nobles at Rome, overthrows this comparifon : Modern Rome, nay Chriftian Rome, has retained all the inclinations of Pagan Rome ; and the Royal-Pontiff, to whom it is now fubject, cannot but tolerate what the Conftantines, the Theodofius's, &c. were not able to extirpate. At Rome, and all over the ecclefiastical ftate, agreeably to the cuftom among the ancient Romans, women are not allowed to tread the ftage, whilft, all over Italy, the parts of men are generally acted by women.

Let us farther examine whether it be reconcilable with civil and religious policy, that the theatres of Rome fhould be filled with eunuchs. The operation, by which thefe men are fo debafed, the Roman laws, which the popes have adopted, prohibited under the greateft penalties ; but the want of fuch for the theatres, for facred and prophane mufic, &c. filences the law ; fo that of thefe wretches it may be faid, *Genus hominum quod in civitate noſtrâ (Româ) et vetabitur ſemper, et ſemper retinebitur*. One would be amazed at the number, could an account be taken only of thoſe within the ecclefiastical ftate (e). For my part, I never could
join

(e) *Horum tædio, ſaid Ammian Marcellinus, veterem laudare juvat Domitianum, qui licet patri fratrique diſſimilis, memoriam nominis ſui inexpiabili deteſtatione perfudit, tamen receptiſſima inclauit lege, quâ minaciter interdixerat, ne intra terminos*

join in the pleasure which the Italians take in these effeminate voices : they proceed from bodies so little a-kin to them, and those bodies are formed of parts so ill put together, their motions on the stage are so clumsy and awkward, that I should ever prefer an ordinary voice in a natural body to the finest *musico*. Their notes never conveyed to my heart that sensation, which a female or a boy's singing excites : this difference perhaps is founded in nature, which taught the Greeks to call a fine voice *the flower of beauty*.

This state is a path to fortune in Italy, where they are so capricious as even to pay those unnatural parents who thus sacrifice their children ; as to reward infamous pimps who carry on this horrible trade almost openly ; and, in a word, to shower opulence and regard on those whose organs retain nothing of their original state. But to twelve of these prodigies what numbers of wretches linger in distress, under the torturing sense of their former and present condition !

One of these monsters, on his return from Madrid, where his voice had gained him a most exorbitant fortune, was giving Benedict XIV. a particular account of the profits, employments, and honours, which had been heaped

terminos jurisdictionis Romanæ, quisquam puerum castraret : quod ni contigisset, quis eorum ferret examina, quorum paucitas difficile toleratur. Liv. xviii. p. 141, Ed. Rob. Steph. See a vehement invective against the violation of human nature, in the fifteenth of those Satyrs, the authors of which have concealed themselves under the name of Q. Sæctanus.

on him: "So," said the pope, when he had made an end, "you have found there what "you had left here."

Having given such a detail of the present state of Rome, it will doubtless be desired, that I had touched on the morals of this great city; that I had sketched out a *scandalous chronicle* of the princes of priests; in a word, that I had shewn how far modern Christian Rome is like ancient, or Juvenal's Rome. On this head I may be permitted to say, that my stay was not long enough in a country, where pleasure is carried on with no less mystery, contrivance, and circumspection, than business; where that publicity is carefully avoided, which in other parts is its chief relish; where the fortune of most people depends at least on the apparent regularity of their behaviour. I have indeed heard of notorious libertinism in some people who think themselves above censure; of connexions formed by interest, and supported by ready money; of intrigues of abandoned women; I have collected some merry sayings of Benedict XIV. on those connexions and intrigues; that, for instance, occasioned by a lady's fumbling a long time in unhitching an extraordinary watch which had been given her, to shew it him (*f*): but nothing of what I observed can warrant the unjust prejudices which prevail in some countries against that purity of manners, and regularity of behaviour,

(*f*) *Lasciate, lasciate: deve sempre il voto essere dirempetto al santo*: "Let be, let be; the offering should always be "over-against the saint."

which

which does honour to the far greater part of the sacred college and the upper prelature. All these illustrious personages, with little exceptions, seem to have taken for their rule of conduct a letter of the greatest politician of Italy, the very celebrated Lawrence de Medicis, to his son John, who was afterwards Leo X. The value of this letter, on account of the persons by whom and to whom it was written, its subject and manner, induced me to insert it here, the collection to which it belongs being very scarce.

* *MESSÈR Giovanni, voi siete molto obligato à M. Domenedio, & tutti noi per rispetto vostro, perche oltre à molti beneficii & honori, che ha ricevuti la casa nostra da lui, ha fatto, che nella persona vostra veggiamo la maggior dignità che fusse mai in casa. Et ancora che la cosa sia per se grande, le circonstantie la fanno assai maggiore, massime per l'età vostra, & condition nostra.*

Però il primo mio ricordo è, che vi sforziate esser grato à M. Domenedio, ricordandovi ad ogn'hora, che non i vostri meriti, prudentia, ò sollecitudine,

ma

* “ Son John, you, and all of us on your account, are
“ greatly obliged to God Almighty, as, besides many other
“ kindnesses and honours which our family has received from
“ him, it is by his means that we behold in your person the
“ greatest dignity that ever our house enjoyed; and though
“ the thing be great in itself, the circumstances make it
“ much greater, especially at your age and in our condition.

“ The first thing I have to put you in mind of is, that you
“ endeavour to prove yourself grateful to God Almighty, con-
“ tinually remembering that it is not any merit, prudence,

“ or

ma mirabilmente esso Iddio vi ha fatto Cardinale; & da lui lo riconosciate, comprobando questa conditione con la vita V. santa, esemplare, & honesta. A che siete tanto più obligato, per haver voi già dato qualche opinione nella adolescenzia vostra da poterne sperare tali frutti. Saria cosa molto vituperosa, & fuor del debito vostro, & aspettatione mia, quando nel tempo, che gli altri sogliono acquistar più ragione, & miglior forma di vita, voi dimenticaste il vostro buono instituto. Bisogna adunque, che vi sforziate alleggerire il peso della dignità, che portate, vivendo costumatamente, & perseverando ne gli studii convenienti alla profession vostra. L'anno passato, io presi grandissima consolatione, intendendo, che senza che alcuno ve lo ricordasse, da voi medesimo vi confessaste più volte, & comunicaste. Nè credo che ci sia miglior via à conservarsi nella gratia di Dio, che lo habituarfi in

“ or interest of yours, but that same God; who made you
 “ cardinal : and of this shew your acknowledgement in doing
 “ credit to his choice by the exemplary decency and holiness
 “ of your life : and to this you are the more obliged, having
 “ already raised an opinion that such fruits might be expected
 “ from your youth. It would be extremely culpable, and
 “ contrary both to your duty and my expectation, should
 “ you, at a time when others improve in reason and the
 “ practice of virtue, run counter to your good beginning.
 “ It is therefore necessary for you to endeavour to lighten the
 “ weight of the dignity you are invested with, by a decent
 “ tenour of life, and adhering to the studies suitable to your
 “ profession. I was exceedingly rejoiced last year to hear
 “ that, without any advice of others, but purely of yourself,
 “ you confessed, and received the sacrament, oftener than you
 “ had been used : and I do not conceive there is a better
 “ way for preserving ourselves in the grace of God than to per-

in simili modi, & perseverarvi. Questo mi pare il più utile, & conveniente ricordo, che per lo primo vi posso dare.

Conosco, che andando voi à Roma, che è sentina de tutti i mali, entrate in maggior difficoltà di fare quanto vi dico di sopra, perchè non solamente gli essempli muovono, ma non vi mancheranno particolari incitatori & corruttori: per che come voi potete intendere, la promotione vostra al Cardinalato, per l'età vostra, & per l'altre conditioni sopradette, arreca seco grande invidia; & quelli, che non hanno potuto impedire la perfettion di questa vostra dignità, s'ingegneranno sottilmente diminuirla, con denigrare l'opinione della vita vostra, & farvi sdrucchiolare in questa stessa fossa, dove essi sono caduti, confidandosi molto, che debba lor riuscire per l'età vostra. Voi dovete tanto più opporvi à queste difficoltà, quanto nel collegio hora si vede

manco

“ severe in the frequent use of such means. This seems to me the most suitable and beneficial counsel that I can at first recommend to you.

“ I know, that as you are going to Rome, that sink of all corruption, it will be the more difficult to conform to what I have said above, as, besides the contagion of bad examples, you will not want bad counsellors and seducers; for, as you may well think, your promotion to the cardinalate will, both on account of your age and the circumstances above mentioned, bring much envy on you; and they who have not been able to hinder your acquisition of this dignity will leave no stone unturned to bring a slur on it, by degrading the opinion entertained of your life, and causing you to slip into the same ditch into which they themselves are fallen: and this, they promise themselves, they shall bring about by reason of your age. Against these difficulties you must make head with the greater vigour, as little virtue is now to be found in the college; though I remember to

“ have

manco virtù, E io mi ricordo pur'havere veduto in quel collegio buon numero d'buomini dotti, E buoni, E di santa vita: però è meglio seguir questi effempi, perche facendolo sarete tanto più conosciuto, E stimato, quanto l'altrui conditioni vi distingueranno da gli altri. E' necessario, che fuggiate, come Scilla E Cariddi, il nome della hipocrisia, E il nome di mala fama, E che usiate mediocrità, sforzandovi in fatto fuggire tutte le cose, che offendono in dimostrazione, E in conversatione, non mostrando austerità ò troppa severità, che sono cose, lequali col tempo intenderete, E farete meglio a mia opinione, che io non le posso esprimere. Voi intenderete di quanta importanza, E effempio sia la persona d'un Cardinale, E che tutto il mondo starebbe bene, se i Cardinali fossino, come dovrebbero essere, perciocche farebbono sempre un buon Papa, onde nasce quasi il riposo di tutti i Christiani. Sforzatevi dunque d'esser tale voi, che quando gli altri

“ have seen in it a good number of learned and virtuous men,
 “ men of holy lives. But it is better to follow these examples;
 “ and by so doing you will become the more known, and
 “ the more esteemed, as the condition of others will distin-
 “ guish you from them. It will behove you to avoid, as the
 “ worst of evils, the character of hypocrisy and libertinism;
 “ and observe a medium and temper, diligently shunning
 “ every thing which may give offence in action and in conver-
 “ sation; not affecting too much rigour or austerity: but these
 “ are things which you will see into in time, and, I promise
 “ myself, will perform better than I can set them forth. You
 “ will understand what weight the example of a cardinal
 “ carries with it; and that it would go well with all the world,
 “ were cardinals what they ought to be, as then they would
 “ always make a good pope, on which the quiet of Christen-
 “ dom so much depends. Endeavour therefore to be such,

altri fussino così fatti, se ne potesse aspettare questo bene universale.

Et perche non è maggior fatica, che conversar bene con diversi buomini ; in questa parte vi posso mal dar ricordo, se non che v'ingegniate, che la conversation vostra con gli Cardinali, & altri buomini di conditione, sia caritativa, & senza offensione: dico, misurando ragionevolmente, & non secondo l'altrui passione: perche molti volendo quello che non si dee, fanno della ragione ingiuria. Giustificate adunque la coscienza vostra in questo, che la conversation vostra con ciascuno, sia senza offensione. Et questa mi pare la regola generale, molto à proposito vostro, perche, quando la passione pur fa qualche inimico, come si partono questi tali senza ragione del l'amicitia, così qualche volta tornano facilmente.

Credo per questa prima andata vostra à Roma, sia bene adoperare più gli orecchi, che la lingua. Hoggi-
mai

“ that, if others were like you, this universal good might be
“ expected from them.

“ And, as nothing requires greater watchfulness than to
“ converse becomingly with different persons, I am not able
“ to give you any farther advice in this, but only that your
“ conversation with the cardinals and other persons of rank
“ be courteous and affectionate, and void of all offence,
“ still acting on reason, and not by others passions ; as many,
“ requiring that which ought not to be, do violence to reason,
“ and turn right into wrong. Therefore consult your conscience,
“ that it may approve of your care so to order your
“ behaviour with every one, as to give no offence. And
“ this seems to me the general rule, very suitable to your
“ purpose ; for where passion excites an enmity, as such
“ break from friendship unreasonably, so some time or other
“ they easily close with a reconciliation.

“ This being your first time of going to Rome, I am inclined
“ to think that your ears should be more busy than your
“ tongue.

*mai io vi ho dato del tutto à M. Domenedio & à
 santa Chiesà, onde è necessario, che diventiate un
 buono Ecclesiastico, & facciate ben capace ciascuno,
 che amate l'honore, e lo stato di Santa Chiesà, &
 della Sede Apostolica, innanzi à tutte le cose del
 mondo, posponendo à questo ogn'altro rispetto. Nè
 vi mancherà modo, con questo riserva, d'aiutar la
 città & la casa : perche questa città fa l'unione della
 Chiesà, & voi dovete in ciò esser buona catena, & la
 casa ne va con la città. Et benchè non si possono ve-
 dere gli accidenti, che verranno, così in general credo,
 che non ci habbiano à mancare modi di salvare (come
 dica) la capra, & i cavoli, tenendo fermo il presup-
 posto, che antepriamo la Chiesà ad ogn'altra cosa.*

*Voi siete il più Giovane Cardinale non solo di tutto
 il Sacro Collegio, ma che fosse mai fatto infino à qui,
 & però è necessario, che dove havete à concorrere con
 gli*

*“ tongue. I have now given you wholly and solely to God
 “ Almighty and holy church ; which makes it incumbent on
 “ you to become a good ecclesiastic, and thoroughly to convince
 “ every one that you have at heart the honour and prosperity
 “ of the holy church, and of the apostolic see, preferably to
 “ every thing in the world, postponing all other concern and
 “ regard to that: and with this reserve, you will not be the
 “ less able to benefit the city and your family ; for in this city
 “ consists the union of the church ; and, here, it is your
 “ duty to be the auspicious link for connecting our family
 “ with the city ; and, though what accidents may happen
 “ cannot be foreseen, yet in general I believe, that means
 “ will offer themselves of saving, as the proverb runs, both
 “ the goat and the cabbages ; yet inviolably adhering to the
 “ above maxim of preferring the church to every other re-
 “ lation.*

*“ You are the youngest cardinal, not only of all the sacred
 “ college, but that has hitherto been advanced to that dig-
 “ nity ; so that, when an assembly is to be held, it will become*

gli altri, *siate il più sollecito, il più humile, senza farvi aspettare ò in Cappella, ò in Concisterio, ò in Deputatione. Voi conoscerete presto li più, & li meno accostumati. Co i meno, si suol fuggir la conversatione molto intrinseca, non solamente per lo fatto in se, ma per l'opinione, & à largo conversar con ciascheduno.*

Nelle pompe vostre loderei più presto star di quà dal moderato, che di là; & più presto vorrei bella stalla, & famiglia ordinata, & polita, che ricca, & pomposa. Ingegnatevi di vivere accostumatamente, riducendo à poco à poco le cose al termine che per esser hora la famiglia, e il pardon nuovo, non si puo.

Gioie, & seta in poche cose stanno bene à pari vostri, più presto qualche gentilezza di cose antiche, & belli libri, & più presto famiglia accostumata, & dotta, che grande. Convitar più spesso, che andare à conviti, & non però superfluamente. Usate per la persona vostra cibi grossi, & fate assai essercitio, perche in
cotești

“ you to be the most diligent and most humble, and not be
“ waited for either in the chapel, consistory, or *deputation*.
“ You will soon know who are the best-mannered and the most
“ ill-mannered. Any intimate commerce is to be avoided with
“ the latter, not only for the thing itself, but as affecting your
“ character: in indifferent matters converse openly with all.

“ As to figure, I could rather recommend being within
“ moderation than beyond it, and should prefer a regular
“ and neat way of living to show and magnificence; thus
“ gradually reducing things to what cannot so well be done
“ now, with a settled family and a new master.

“ Jewels and silks little suit your station; but it would
“ be right to have an elegant library and collection of
“ antiques, and a family more remarkable for their learn-
“ ing and good breeding, than for their number. Give en-
“ tertainments oftener than go to them, but without excess.
“ Let your food be plain, and use a good deal of exercise; for

“ in

*pesi si viene presto in qualche infermità, chi non ci ha cura. Lo stato del Cardinale è non manco sicuro, che grande, onde nasce, che gli huomini si fanno negligen-
genti, parendo loro haver conseguito assai, & poterlo mantenere con poca fatica, & questo nuoce spesso, & alla conditione, & alla vita, allaquale è necessario che habbiate grande avvertenza, & più presto pendiate nel fidarvi poco, che troppo.*

Una regola sopra l'altre vi conforto ad usare con tutta la sollecitudine vostra ; & questa è, di levarvi ogni mattina di buon' hora, perche oltre al conferir molto alla sanità, si pensa, & espedisce tutte le faccende del giorno, & al grado, che avete : havendo à dir l'ufficio, studiare, dare audientia, &c. ve'l troverete molto utile.

Un' altra cosa ancora è sommamente necessaria ad un par vostro, cioè pensar sempre, & massime in questi principii, la sera dinanzi, tutto quello che havete à fare

“ in these countries, without such care, disorders are soon contracted. The dignity of cardinal, being no less secure than
“ it is illustrious, is apt to make men remiss : they think they
“ have made a great acquisition, and that it is to be supported
“ with little or no fatigue ; which is often very detrimental
“ both to the rank and the morals, both which require strict
“ watchfulness ; and I would advise you to be rather diffident
“ than over confident.

“ One thing I would especially recommend to you, to be
“ very diligent in, and that is early rising ; for, besides the
“ healthiness of this custom, you composedly deliberate on and
“ go through the business of the day, and those of your particular station, as praying, studying, giving audience, &c.
“ so that you will find a great advantage of it.

“ Another thing likewise extremely necessary to one in your
“ station, especially as you have newly entered on the dignity,
“ is, on the evening to think on all that you have to do the

*fare il giorno seguente, accioche non vi venga cosa alcuna immeditata. Quanto al parlar vostro in Con-
cistorio, credo sarà più costumatezza, & più lauda-
bil modo, in tutte le occorrenze che vi si proporranno,
riferirsi alla Santità di Nostro Signore, pensando, che
per esser voi Giovane & di poca esperienza, sia più
ufficio vostro rimettervi alla Santità sua, & al sapien-
tissimo giudizio di quella. Ragionevolmente voi sarete
richiesto di parlare, & intercedere appresso a Nostro
Signore per molte specialità. Ingegnatevi in questi
principii di richiederlo manco che potete, & darg-
liene poca molestia: che di sua natura il Papa è più
grato à chi manco gli spezza gli orecchi. Questa parte
mi pare da osservare per non lo infastidire; & così
l'andargli inanzi con cose piacevoli, ò pur quando
accadesse, richiederlo con humiltà & modestia, doverà
sodisfargli più, & esser più secondo la natura sua.
State sano. Di Firenze.*

LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

“ next day, that nothing may come on you unpremeditated.
“ As to your speaking in the consistory, it will be more polite,
“ and more commendable, in all occurrences which may come
“ on the carpet, to refer yourself to his holiness. Your
“ youth and little experience must incline you to think it be-
“ comes you to lay your private opinion at his holiness's feet,
“ and leave all affairs to his wise judgement. In all pro-
“ bability, you will frequently be desired to intercede with
“ his holiness for some particular favour: but, it being still
“ young days with you, be very sparing of such intercessions,
“ and give him as little trouble as possible; for the pope him-
“ self is naturally more affable and kind to those who trouble
“ him the least with requests. This is the part I would have
“ you act, in order to avoid disgusting him; and let your con-
“ versation turn on things agreeable to him; or when any
“ thing of that nature happens, to ask it with humility and
“ modesty will please him better, and more coincide with his
“ temper. Farewell.

“ Florence.

LORENZO DE MEDICI.”

FINE ARTS.

MUSIC.—That melancholy, which generally prevails in the constitution and temper of the Italians, is the chief source of their fondness as well for the arts as for poetry and music. It is this melancholy which has filled Italy with epic poems good and bad, but all instances of a perseverance in the poets, of which every nation is not capable. This perseverance has been of infinite service to genius towards the production of those master-pieces, in all the entertaining arts, for which Italy is famous : *Alterius sic altera poscit opem res*. I saw at Rome an abbé of one of the first families in Bologna, who applying himself closely for ten years together to the spinnet, (two of which he had spent at Naples without minding any one thing else) had brought that instrument to such a perfection, as to make it perform equally to the best harpsicord. Music, besides being an entertainment to the Italians, is a passion, is a want; a want, relative to their constitution, which, the louder the music, the more deliciously it affects.

On the promotion of cardinal Priuli, the prince of Viana gave a grand entertainment, for which the finest music at Rome had been procured. I happened to sit next to a prelate, to whom I was a stranger, and who asked me how I liked the music. I answered, that, from the pleasure the connoisseurs expressed at it, I could not but think it excellent; but, for my part, I only heard a noise. “I like your frankness,” said the prelate with a smile: “but have patience; five or six months hence, you will feel harmony in what now seems
“only

“ only noise. You are, in this respect, like one,
 “ who after living under ground should be sud-
 “ denly brought into open light: his eyes would
 “ be too much dazzled to perceive any thing, and
 “ it would be only by degrees that he could come
 “ to distinguish objects.” But, replied I, what if
 your *virtuosos* aim more at noise than harmony?
 “ That’s the very criterion,” returned he, “ by
 “ which you will know the bad performers: it is
 “ by that the celebrated Tartini judges of them.
 “ The Neapolitan *virtuosi*, that is, the best fiddlers in
 “ Italy, question their own abilities till tried before
 “ him. You must needs think, that in order to
 “ obtain a favourable verdict they exert every art
 “ of skill, strength and suppleness: their fingers
 “ fly, their stick crackles; and when they have
 “ done, Tartini coldly says to the greater part,
 “ *That’s notable, that’s smart, that’s very strong;*
 “ *but,* adds he putting his finger to his heart, *it was*
 “ *not felt there.*”

ARCHITECTURE.—To speak of Rome without
 saying a word about St. Peter’s, would be like leav-
 ing that city without having seen the pope. This
 basilic even surpasses its celebrity; it is among the
 works of art, as the sea in the scene of nature, the
 only object adequate to the idea which man is capa-
 ble of forming to himself of grandeur, majesty, and
 immensity. It was finely said by father Mabillon,
Tam divinæ fabricæ majestatem rudi calamo violare
non audemus: nonnulla sunt quæ nullo melius modo
quàm silentio & stupore laudantur. After viewing
 it, he who employs his eyes only about buildings,
 might imitate those devout Mussulmen, who on
 leaving Mecca put out their eyes, because, after
 having

having seen that sacred place, they cannot expect to behold such another august spectacle.

The immense revenue belonging to this cathedral suffices both for the continual repairs which such a structure requires, and the decorations daily added to it. The repairs within the church cause no disorder or impediment: they are done with flying scaffoldings. I have seen some of these scaffoldings fixed to the great cornice of the nave, and to us below they seemed like cobwebs.

The design formed by Clement XI. for putting into mosaic all the master-pieces of painting, which will thus be immortalised, must require a prodigious expence, both in the workmanship, and the various crystalline pastes which are the base of this work. When I was at Rome, I saw this work carrying on in copies of Guido's *St. Michael*, Carravaggio's *Christ in the sepulchre*, and Raphael's *Transfiguration*. For the convenience of the copyists, the original of the latter, which was painted on a very compact assemblage of walnut-tree boards, stood on a scaffold raised behind the altar of St. Peter Montorio, where it had been placed on Raphael's death, and where it has remained though done for Francis I. king of France, who had partly paid for it. I have more than once found this place quite empty, and been alone with this *ne plus ultra* of painting. This is a carelessness which does honour to the Romans: the respect which the artists and the common people bear to masterly performances (g) is the safest and most honourable

(g) Yet I have heard that the paintings by the same Raphael in the Vatican, as his *School of Athens*, his *Sacrament*, &c. have been very much abused by young painters putting oil papers on the heads, for taking them off.

guard that can be placed about them: such a guard has been much wanted to the paintings in the Carthusian monastery at Paris.

The decorations in hand during our stay at Rome were exceeding costly: besides new-pointing and repolishing the grand canopy and St. Peter's chair (*b*), the whole inside of the chapel del Santissimo was to be embellished with all new work. The first repair was by most connoisseurs looked on with an evil eye: they, as I said before, lamented the taking away of that inestimable *patina* which the Greeks accounted the flower in works of this kind (*i*). This restoration was in their eyes a real degradation. In the chapel del Santissimo they found great fault with the paltry taste of the mock tapestry on the walls; but the mosaïc on the floor was crowned with universal praises. The principal piece of this mosaïc is a group of sheaves, vine-leaves and bunches of grapes: no painting can come nearer to the beauties of nature.

The Romans are not wanting to think very highly of the beauty of their city, and the splendor of St. Peter. This idea of theirs indeed is confirmed by the concourse and admiration of all nations, whom curiosity is daily bringing to Rome. Accordingly, when any one seems to wonder at their having no inclination for travelling, they coldly answer, *Eh! dove ritroveremo questa*

(*b*) This canopy, which is exactly of the same height as that of the front of the Louvre at Paris, is so proportioned to the structure in the centre of which it stands, that at first sight it does not seem so lofty as that of Val de Grace at Paris.

(*i*) See Plutarch's Treatise why the Pythian, &c. *initio*.

bella

bella cupola ? “ Where shall we meet with such
“ a fine cupola ? ”

According to Michael Angelo's plan of St. Peter's, in the Vatican library, the form of it was to have been that of a Grecian cross ; that is, of four naves of equal proportions and length, terminating at an altar as their common centre. The nave facing the area has since been lengthened with two arcades, and the entrance covered with a portal which takes up the whole of it, and was not in Michael Angelo's design. In this design, each nave had a projecting portico in the style of that of the Pantheon : and this portico would neither have hid, nor broke in on, the external decoration of the whole of the edifice, which Michael Angelo had no less provided for than the interior ; and it would have appeared with the greater advantage, as St. Peter's was to have been insulated on every side (*k*). By such porticos it had stood distinguished from all modern edifices, the outsides of which make no manner of appearance but by a portal, and that void of the necessary proportion with the parts, which indeed have little

(*k*) It was by way of imparting a symmetry to all these parts, which are foreign from Michael Angelo's design, that cavalier Bernini raised that stately peristyle round St. Peter's square. A Venetian ambassador, in his Account of Rome under the pontificate of Alexander VII. is very severe on the pope for this undertaking, which, says he, cost three millions in French money. What would this Venetian have said to the magnificence of Francis I. who appointed the celebrated Serlio, *per Generale sopra Fabriche regio, con provisione di trecento scudi per sostegno de i suoi bisogni* ? “ superintendant of
“ the royal works, with an appointment of three hundred
“ crowns to supply his necessities ? ”

or none among themselves ; for the architect totally leaves them to the mason. In short, the beauty of the churches at Rome is like that of the princess in the Psalms : *Omnis gloria filiae regis ab intus.*

With the palaces it is otherwise ; their outsides display all the inventions of genius and the delicacy of art. These palaces line the streets and squares, which thus owe their greatest ornament to the diversity and number of those vast structures. This external decoration is so far the leading object of those who build, that several fronts, which have been long since completed, are yet without the palaces for which they were made. Such is the palace of cardinal Sciarra Collona, protector of France. Behind one of the most grand fronts in the whole Corso, the master lives, in some slight apartments hastily run up on the inside of the front, till the palace intended for him is taken in hand.

This fondness for grandeur prevails no less in the inward distribution of the palaces. Every conveniency gives way to it. Beyond a continued range of halls, salons, and parlours, some little corner forms the master's apartment. I visited a cardinal when sick, who lives in one of the largest and most splendid palaces in Rome ; yet his whole apartment consisted of a little dark smoky hole, only eight feet long to a breadth of six.

The Romans however begin to grow tired of having houses only for others, and in the new buildings consider themselves a little. The Corsini palace, lately built on the same spot where the famous

famous queen Christina lived, between the Tiber and the Janiculum, though not laid out with all those conveniences which at present are the capital view of French architecture, yet has many more than all the ancient palaces; and this, I think, makes ample amends for any loss with respect to magnificence.

But no where does this taste shine with greater lustre than in those country palaces known by the name of *Vignas*. Here the families of the popes of the two last centuries have, as if striving to outdo one another, accumulated the riches of all modern arts, and the very finest monuments of the ancients. Here it is especially, that an idea may be formed of what Rome was, and what it is. The gardens belonging to these palaces, neither in disposition nor culture, come up to those of our northern countries: but a turn or two in the Corso, towards the close of the day, in coaches moving a snail's-pace, and the fashes of which are drawn up at sun-set, is all the airing known at Rome, even in the finest part of the year. In general, the Romans, like the Chinese, know not what to make of our walks and airings, in which we have no farther view than that of going and coming back.

Though gardens for mere ornament are neglected, the kitchen-gardens for the legumes and herbs, on which the greater part of the Romans live, are cultivated with the greatest care. Indeed, to judge of the culture of these vegetables by their beauty and goodness, one would think that the Roman kitchen-gardeners at least had departed from the privilege *di far niente*, “of doing
“nothing:”

“ nothing :” but their number is much less than in other parts. The exuberance of the soil, the plenty and cheapness of dung and manure, their very scrupulous care in the choice of seeds, *hæc sunt illorum veneficia*.* The watering of those gardens, which one would think as toilsome as it is necessary under such a parching sky, puts them to no manner of trouble: the mountains within the circuit of Rome pour into these kitchen-gardens both the surplus and the remainder of the waters of their public and private fountains; and these waters by skilful management are made to run into trenches between the beds, thus plentifully watering them morning and evening.

PAINTING.—Churches, chapels, palaces, religious houses, private houses, all Rome, are so full of paintings, that, so far from space being left for fresco-paintings, there is not so much as room for pictures in oil. Were it possible, that amidst such abundance, and the satiety resulting from it, painting still produced more master-pieces, it would be given to understand, *Pulcrum, sed non his locus*: and these master-pieces would meet with no buyers (1). Accordingly, what masters
it

* Apud Cicer. de C. Furio.

(1) The Italian states and princes, I think, might turn this fullness to the advantage both of themselves and the art. Were the prohibition of exportation limited to the capital pieces of the great masters, the paintings of the second class would form a commerce, which, besides bringing money into their country, would always leave a field open for the performances and emulation of living artists. These artists, in their turn coming to be ancients, would successively enjoy the value which paintings derive from antiquity, and would
supply

it has, are intirely employed by foreigners. I could not conceal my wonder at the sight of some subjects taken from the *Metamorphoses*, which are doing in fresco on the ground-floor cieling of a palace in the Longara. These paintings would scarcely pass in our northern countries : the young artist who performed them had however all the hilarity of his calling : besides a general understanding of music, he played a fine fiddle, and from his scaffolding gave us five or six voluntaries with all the swiftness and skill of a Neapolitan. The prince who employed him as a painter, put me in mind of that French general * who had a secretary † to drink for him.

The capital hands in the Roman school are Placido Costanzi, Sebastiano Conca, Pompeo Battoni, and John Paul Panini. I used to visit the first, then prince of the academy of St. Luke : he was employed on a large altar-piece for a nunnery in Franche Comté : this was the second or third for which he had commissions from that province. My visits and our talk did not in the least interrupt his work, which was very easy, and in the large style of the Roman school. In the few pieces of those masters which are remaining at Rome, this large manner is enhanced by a colouring beyond that of the ancients.

These last, and the closets filled with their supply curiosity with valuable pieces, which other pieces would successively replace. Thus the several schools of Italy would become a kind of manufactories, which, animated by a certain sale, would be able to answer a continual demand.

* The duke of Vendome.

† Campistron.

works, I shall omit, only relating some facts concerning that deceit which has ever been busy in multiplying them. I have seen four or five originals of the same Holy Family of Raphael, of which the only original is in the collection of the Palais-Royal at Paris. One of the supposititious originals fills the place of honour in cardinal Albani's gallery, where it is the only one with a curtain before it.

In cardinal Valenti's collection (*m*), now in the hands of abbé Valenti his nephew, is shown the little *rock Magdalena*, one of Correggio's master-pieces ; and this same Magdalen I since met with among those paintings of the house of Farnese, which were sent away to Naples, and placed in Capo-di-Monte palace. Though that of cardinal Valenti be extremely beautiful, though it has a bloom and lustre wanting in that of Capo di Monte, there is all the reason in the world to suppose, that the real original, done by Correggio for the Farnese his sovereigns, is that in the possession of the heir of the family.

I happened to be with some foreigners, when a small picture was brought to them for sale as an original Bassan : it had all the characters of that master, and the appearance of antiquity requisite for the deceit ; but I accidentally perceived that the canvas on which it had been painted was

(*m*) In this collection are several small pieces by Raphael, which, being sent away to Spain, had been confusedly put up in the Corridors, and the darkest communications in the Escorial, till, being taken notice of by cardinal Valenti when nuncio in Spain, the queen, who had a great love for him, gave them to him to place them in a light suitable to their merit.

quite

quite new ; a blunder the more palpable, as the impostor had taken care to mount it on an old frame. I only told him who seemed the most taken with it, to examine it *folio verso*.

One of the most valuable pictures of the Sachetti collection, which Benedict XIV. purchased, and consecrated to the public in a hall of the Capitol, raised in me another sort of suspicion. It represents in little the battle of Arbella ; and in the whole, and the particulars, there is such a near affinity and resemblance with that of Le Brun, among the battles of Alexander painted for Lewis XIV. that, at first sight, one seems a copy of the other. Such a resemblance whetting my curiosity, I made it my business to inquire after the age and date of the Roman picture. It seems it had been bespoke of Pietro di Cortona by a king of Spain, who had left both the subject and the price to himself : the king dying while the work was in hand, the painter finished it, and made a present of it to cardinal Sachetti, his patron, as a token of his gratitude.

Of his motives for such gratitude I have the following account. Peter Berretini, having a strong inclination for painting, left Cortona, his native place, at the age of ten or eleven, and came to Rome, without any other means of subsistence than an acquaintance with a countryman of his, then a scullion at cardinal Sachetti's. The Cortonian sheltered him in his garret, gave him share of his straw bed, and for two years subsisted him with the scraps which he used to purloin, till being promoted, he obtained the garret for his countryman's sole use, together with the run of the kitchen. The young

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draughts-

draughts-man, without any other master than genius and inclination, spent some years immersed in closely studying ancient and modern paintings. The palace Sachetti, being at the extremity of Rome towards the Vatican, lay at a great distance from the parts best adapted to the study of antiquities. To husband time, Berretini, without any other provision than bread, used to go and stay several days in those parts, taking up his abode at night in the work-shop, that is, in the middle of the street, or under some portico. His mess-mates (these absences being frequent) were under no apprehension; however, he having once been a fortnight without making his appearance, and his generous countryman having sent about to inquire after him to no purpose, he was thought to be dead, or to have gone back to Cortona; and in consequence his garret was disposed of. The new inhabitant, finding it full of papers, sketches and designs, tied them up together, and delivered them to the Cortonian, who took it into his head to present them to the cardinal. The cardinal, judging of the author's abilities by his sketches, ordered the cook to make fresh inquiry, and, if his countryman came to light, to bring him to him. At length he was found about St. Gregory's, in a lonely monastery, where the monks, pleased with his close application to work, had offered him shelter, and a place at their second table. He was brought back to the palace, where the cardinal received him in the most obliging manner, had him new clothed, put him out to board, and placed him with Ciarpi, at that time one of the best masters at Rome. Fired with the liberal

liberal encouragement and public countenance of such a patron, Berretini soon arose to eminence, the glory of which he referred to his Mæcenas, who had been so long a time without knowing it, and now insisted on his living under his roof, and with him, as one of the family, and as a friend. The esteem and favours of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. who employed Berretini as painter and architect, equally promoted both his reputation and fortune, which he had the moderation to enjoy without quitting his profession: part of it he dedicated to the honour of his art, repairing the academy of St. Luke, and rebuilding and endowing St. Martin's church (*n*) belonging to that academy, and for the enlargement of which he gave away his own house; lastly, by contriving the vault which runs all under the church, and which by his skill and munificence is come to be one of the finest things in modern Rome. In it is his tomb, which he himself had prepared (*o*).

To return to his *battle of Arbella*, its date may be settled by that of the decease of the king of Spain, who had bespoke it. This king is not Philip IV. who died in 1665, as at that time Pietro de Cortona was not less than sixty-nine years of age, being born in 1596: he died four years after, turned of seventy; and this painting speaks

(*n*) Over the great altar of this church is the celebrated *St. Luke* of Raphael, the joining of which has been warped by the humidity of the place, which, besides, is too remote from the eye.

(*o*) The finest piece of painting of his at Rome, and one of the most sublime that perhaps the genius of painting ever planned or executed, is the cieling of the salon in Barberini palace.

a pencil in all its vigour. The king in question must, then, have been Philip III. who died in 1621, when Pietro de Cortona was in the twenty-seventh year of his age; and by that time eminent talents have generally reached their zenith; so that his *battle of Arbella* must have been considerably prior to Le Brun's battles, who was not born till 1619.

The last painter of high reputation in the Roman school is Carlo Maratti. His works, both in public and private buildings, have taken possession of all the voids which were not filled up by the performances of the ancient masters; and in this respect he may be looked on as *ultimus Romanorum*. Besides his eminent skill in the art he professed, his talents for poetry and music were not less admirable; and the disclosure of them was owing to love. In his early youth he was smitten with a Roman beauty, but of a rank and fortune far above his hopes; yet Carlo had undertaken to raise such a fortune by means of his pencil, as should warrant his addresses. Love however anticipated the execution of his scheme, uniting the lovers by a clandestine marriage. The family to which the young artist had presumed thus to steal an affinity, prosecuted him as a seducer, and got the marriage set aside. This separation, affecting both honour and love, was a double incitement to Carlo for accomplishing the project on which he had founded his first hopes. The productions of his application soon insured his success, raising him to the presidentship of the Roman school; a station, at that time, of very great honour. In this high reputation he applied to his bride's family, requesting the re-union of what they

they had separated : his sollicitation, being backed by all the greatest personages in Rome, was agreed to, and a second decree annulled the former : the faithful pair were restored to each other, and a tender affection, never interrupted till death, compensated for all past afflictions.

During that long persecution, Carlo composed many very pathetic verses on his sufferings, which he set to music ; and, on the happy turn of his affairs, he sang his felicity in strains not less melodious. Several of these compositions are still remembered among the polite Romans. I have heard some repeated, and do think that none of the most distinguished poets in this kind, whether ancient or modern, have produced any thing more impassioned, more tender, and, at the same time, more decent. It is observed, that most of the great artists cultivated the agreeable talents. To mention only their chief and pattern, there is a very good collection of poems by Michael Angelo, printed at Florence in 1726.

Carlo Maratti at first limited his pencil to Madonnas. Amidst the variety of expression, and the airs of the head, they all appeared to be of one family : *Facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen*. The image of his dear spouse, as ever present to his mind, was the archetype of his designs (o). I often used to see an Annunciation of his over the great altar of a chapel near Santo-Spirito hospital : the virgin in this piece had an air of sprightliness, and even of coquetry, which might have

(o) Pliny, censuring this kind of prototypes, not uncommon among our modern painters, as an insult on religion, says of one Arellius, a Roman painter, *Flagitio insigni corruptit artem, Deas pingens sub dilectarum imagine*, L. lxxxv. c. 10.

been in character for a Magdalen before her conversion : the greater part of this air, however, was owing to a real pearl necklace on her neck, and a silver demi-crown, both fastened to the picture. All the veneration of the Romans for master-pieces of the art has not yet been able to reform this silly custom : their devotion is daily disfiguring and spoiling inestimable pictures, by a thousand fooleries of this kind.

To conclude this article of painting in a manner agreeable to the connoisseurs, and useful to the artists, I shall insert a letter * written by the famous Aretin to Michael Angelo on the report, at Venice, that he was going to paint the Last Judgment in Sixtus the IVth's chapel at the Vatican. This great piece was finished by the time Michael Angelo received the letter ; for which he thanked Aretin, acknowledging that the ideas which he suggested of that grand subject were superior to those of his own growth. Let artists and connoisseurs judge whether there was more truth than politeness in this declaration of Michael Angelo, who accompanied it with several designs by his own hand, for which Aretin returned him thanks in a letter of the 20th of January, 1538. The letter in question is of the 15th of September, of the foregoing year. What Aretin says of painting in the beginning of this letter, he unquestionably wrote as dictated by the celebrated Titian, his godfather and intimate friend. It may be accounted a masterly commentary on the 6th chapter of the 35th book of Pliny.

* Lettere de l'Aretino, vol. i. fol. 153 v. In Parigi, 1609, in-8.

* Al divino MICHEL AGNOLO.

SI come, venerabile huomo, è vergogna della fama, e peccato de l'anima il non ramentarsi di Dio, così è biasimo della virtù e dishonor' del giuditio d'ogni un chi hà virtù, e giuditio, di non riverir' voi, nelle cui mani vive occulta l'idea d'una nuova natura: onde la difficoltà delle linee estreme (somma scienza nella sottilità de la Pittura) vi è sì facile, che conchiudete nell'estremità de i corpi il fine de l'Arte: cosa, che l'Arte propria confessa esser' impossibile di condurre a perfettione; per cio che l'estremo (come sapete) dee circondare se medesimo, poi fornire in maniera, che nel mostrare cio, che non mostra, possa promettere delle cose che promettano le figure della Capella, a chi meglio sa giudicarle, che mirarle. Hor' io che con la lode e con l'infamia, ho spedito la maggior somma de i meriti, e de i demeriti altrui; per non convertire in niente il poco ch'io sono, vi saluto. Nè ardirei

* To the divine MICHAEL ANGELO.

“ As not to be mindful of God, is a stain to reputation,
 “ and a guilt in the soul; so, O respectable man, is it a slur
 “ to skill, and a disgrace to the judgment of any one who has
 “ any skill and judgment, not to reverence you, in whose
 “ hands lies concealed the idea of a new nature. Hence the
 “ difficulty of the out-lines (in which painting shews its utmost
 “ art and delicacy) to you is so easy, that in the extremities of
 “ the bodies you exhibit the utmost extent of the art: though
 “ perfection herein be what the art itself owns impracticable;
 “ for the extremity (as you know) ought to surround itself, then
 “ be finished in such a manner that, expressing what it does not
 “ shew, it may give to understand what they, who can rather
 “ judge than admire, may expect to see performed in the cha-
 “ pel. Now I, who either by praise or abuse have employed
 “ myself on the greater part of the merits and demerits of
 “ others, that I may not reduce to mere nothing my insigni-
 “ ficancy, do pay you my respects; nor should I presume thus
 “ far,

ardirei di farlo, se il mio nome accettato dalle orecchie di ciascun Principe, non avesse scemato pur' assai de l'indegnità sua. E ben' debbo io osservarvi con tal' riverenza, poi che il mondo ha molti Rè, & un' solo Michel-Agnolo. Gran' miracolo, che la natura, che non può locar sì alto una cosa, che voi non la ritroviate con l'industrià, non sappia imprimere nelle opre sue la maestà, che tiene in se stessa l'immensa potentia del vostro stile, e del vostro scarpello: onde, chi vede voi, non si cura di non haver' visto Phidia, Apelle & Vitruvio, i cui spirti fur' l'ombra del vostro spirto. Ma io tengo felicità quella di Parrhasio, e de gli altri dipintori antichi, da poi che il tempo non ha consentito, che il far' loro sia visso fino al dì d'hoggi: cagione che noi, che pur' diamo credito a ciò, che ne trombeggiano le carte, sospendiamo il concedervi quella Palma, che chiamandovi unico Scultore, unico Pittore, & unico Architetto, vi darebbero essi, se fosser' posti nel Tribunale de gli occhi nostri.

Ma

“ far, had not my name, which has reached the ear of every
 “ prince, greatly diminished its original unworthiness: and
 “ it becomes me to respect you very highly; for, if there be
 “ many monarchs in the world, there is but one Michael An-
 “ gelo. What a wonder, that Nature cannot place anything
 “ at such a height but your skill can reach it, nor stamp on
 “ its works that majesty which resides in your chissel and bu-
 “ rin! so that he who sees you is very easy about not having
 “ seen Phidias, Apelles, and Vitruvius, whose geniuses
 “ were only the shadow of yours. But I look upon it as a
 “ happy circumstance for Parrhasius, and the other painters of
 “ antiquity, that time has not allowed their works to be seen
 “ in our days; and therefore, as I give credit to the records
 “ of the ancients, I must defer giving you that palm which
 “ they would confer on you, were they to judge with our
 “ eyes, declaring you the only sculptor, the only painter, and
 “ the only architect. But, it being so, why not content
 “ yourself

Ma se così è, perche non contentarvi della gloria acquistata fino à qui? A me pare, che vi dovesse bastare d'haver' vinti gli altri con l'altre operationi; ma io sento, che con il fine de l'Universo, che al presente dipignete, pensate di superare il principio del mondo, che già dipigneste; acciò le vostre pitture vinte dalle pitture istesse, vi dieno il triompho di voi medesimo.

Hor' chi non ispaventarebbe nel porre il pennello à così terribil' soggetto: io veggo in mezzo de le turbe Antickristo con una sembianza sol' pensata da voi. Veggo lo spavento nella fronte de i viventi: veggo i cenni che di spegnersi fà il Sole, la Luna, e le stelle: veggo quasi esalar' lo spirto al fuoco, a l'aria, a la terra, & a l'acqua: veggo là in disparte la Natura esterrefatta, sterilmente raccolta nella sua età decrepita: veggo il tempo asciutto, e tremante, che per esser' giunto al suo termine, fiede sopra un' tronco secco:

e

“yourself with the glory you have already acquired?
 “Ought you not to rest satisfied in having surpassed others in
 “other performances? But I perceive you intend, that the
 “End of the World, which you are at present painting, shall
 “exceed its Beginning, which you have already painted, so
 “that, your performances being outdone by themselves, you
 “shew yourself superior to your ownself.

“Farther, who would not dread employing his pencil on
 “such a tremendous subject? I see, amidst the multitude,
 “Anti-christ with a visage which none but you could have
 “imagined: I see the countenances of the living convulsed
 “with terror: in the sun, moon, and stars, I see the symp-
 “toms of approaching extinction: I see fire, air, and water,
 “expire: I see effete Nature apart, her contracted posture
 “the emblem of her decrepitude: I see Time, withered and
 “trembling, sitting on a dry stump of a tree, as being come
 “to its period: and while I perceive every one shuddering

“at

e mentre sento dalle trombe de gli Angeli scuotere i cuori di tutti i petti, veggo la vita, E la morte opresse da spaventosa confusione ; perche quella s'affatica di relevare i morti, e questa si provvede di abattere i vivi : veggo la speranza, e la disperatione, che guidano le schiere de i buoni, e gli stuoli de i rei : veggo il teatro delle nuvole colorite da i raggi che escano da i puri fuochi del Cielo, su i quali frà le sue militie si è posto a feder' Cbristo cinto di splendori, e di terro-ri : veggo risulgergli la faccia, e scintillando fiamme di lume giocondo, e terribile, empie i ben' nati di allegrezza, E i mal' nati di paura. Intanto veggo i ministri de l'abisso, i quali con horrido aspetto, con gloria de i Martiri, e de i Santi, scherniscono Cesare, e gli Alessandri : che altro è l'haver' vinto se stesso, che il mondo : veggo la Fama con le sue corone, e con le sue palme sotto i piedi, gittata-là frà le ruote de i suoi carri : in ultimo veggo uscir' dalla bocca del figlivol' di Dio la gran' Sententia : io la veggo in forma di due strali

“ at the clangor of the angels trumpets, I see Life and Death
 “ labouring with dreadful opposition : I see the former strain-
 “ ing every nerve to raise up the dead, and the latter no less
 “ eager in destroying the living : I see Hope conducting the
 “ band of the blessed, and Despair at the head of the guilty :
 “ I see the clouds fulgid with rays issuing from the heavenly
 “ fires, on which Christ sits environed with glories and terrors
 “ amidst his blessed hosts : I see his countenance, which,
 “ emitting coruscations of a benign and terrible light, fills
 “ the virtuous with joy, and the profligate with terror : in
 “ the mean time, I also see the ministers of the abyss with
 “ frightful countenances insulting such as Cæsar and Alexan-
 “ der, pointing to the glory of martyrs and saints ; to overcome
 “ one's self being quite a different thing from conquering the
 “ world : I see Fame with her crowns and palms trodden
 “ under foot, and she herself lying among the wheels of her
 “ shattered car : lastly, I see the final sentence issue from the
 “ diving

strali, uno di salute, e l'altro di damnatione; e nel vederli volar' giuso, sento il furor' suo urtare nella machina elementale; e con tremendi tuoni disfarla, e risolverla: veggo i lumi del Paradiso, & le fornaci dello abisso, che dividono le tenebre cadute sopra il volto de l'aere; talche il pensiero, che mi rappresenta l'immagine della rovina del novissimo die, mi dice: se si trema, e teme nel contemplar' l'opra bel Buonaruoti, come si tremarà, e temerà, quando vedremo giudicarci da chi ci dee giudicare?

Ma crede la Signoria V. che il voto, che io ho fatto di non riveder più Roma, non si habbia a rompere nella volontà di veder' cotale historia? Io voglio più tosto far bugiarda la mia deliberatione, che ingiuriare la vostra virtù: la qual' prego, che habbia caro il desiderio ch'io ho di predicarlo.

Di Venetia, Il xv. bi Settembre 1537.

“divine mouth: I see it like two arrows, one of salvation,
 “the other of damnation; rapidly flying downwards in
 “its vindictive wrath, darting on the elemental machine,
 “and, with loud claps of thunder, striking creation to ruins:
 “I see the lights of paradise, and the furnaces of the abyss,
 “glaring amidst the palpable darkness which involves the
 “ethereal expanse. So that the thoughts raised in me by the
 “imagery of the destruction attending the last day, intimate
 “to me, “If thou fearest and tremblest thus whilst only
 “beholding Buonaruoti's works, how will thou shudder and
 “fear when thou shalt see the Omnipotent Being himself sit
 “in judgment?”

“But do you think, sir, that, though I have made a vow
 “never to see Rome again, my strong desire of seeing such a
 “picture will not break that vow? Yes, sooner than thus
 “affront your incomparable skill, I will give the lye to my
 “resolution; and I beg your kind approbation of my desire
 “to celebrate your talents.

“Venice, the 15th of September, 1537.”

• The paintings of Sixtus's chapel reminded me of the Salle Royale, which serves as a distribution to the chapel, and the apartments adjoining to Bernini's great stair-case. The reasons of that appellation being given to this hall, are at Rome a riddle, solved only by the will or fancy of the pope who built it. But, from the paintings which are spread all over it, an attentive eye is at no loss to see into those reasons : these paintings represent the several triumphs of the Roman church over its enemies, of whom crowned heads are made the majority.

SCULPTURE.—Sculpture has now little else to do at Rome besides copying antiques for foreigners ; and being slightly performed, no better are they paid. The last pontificate was a bad time both for sculpture and painting. The real Mecænases of the fine arts are those, among the rich and great, who build and embellish their houses. The production of master-pieces depends not in the least on their knowledge and taste : they are atchieved by the emulation which the great number of undertakings excites among artists : this emulation had the like effect in Greece, and especially at Athens, where every petty citizen employed painters, sculptors, and engravers. In a word, to use the comparison which Socrates applied to himself, builders are the *accoucheurs* * of the artists ideas.

The greatest *accoucheurs* of this kind, which modern Rome has to boast of, in the sixteenth century were Julius II. Leo X. Sixtus V. and in the last, Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. All the great artists of Italy, all the known master-pieces, belong to one or other of these pontificates.

* Men-midwives,

In the two last flourished Bernini and Algardi (*q*). The latter was under the former; but, if their talents are to be judged of by their works, Algardi was superior in many respects. His Attila is perhaps the grandest piece that sculpture ever produced. Among all the wonders of St. Peter's there are few or none which come up to it. In the very essays of that artisan you see nothing of that ambiguity and tameness objected to those left by Bernini at Naples: for instance, that colossus of a virgin in the Carthusian monastery. The latter, when his powers were at their height, never performed any thing more beautiful, or more energetic, than the two figures of natural bigness, at the altar-piece of Our Lady of the Victories (*r*) in the *Thermæ Dioclesianæ*: he has taken the very instant when a cherub lets fly an inflamed arrow at St. Teresa's heart. At the feet of the angel, who is represented standing, half naked, smiling, and of a celestial beauty, lies the Carmelite nun in a trance, stretched at full length upon the ground, with her breast prodigiously raised, and in a sort of palpitation; her eyes reversed; all the nerves and fibres of her body under a contraction, which appears in the disorder of her features, of her whole person, and the several parts of her drapery: the impression of the trance is shewn even in the toe of the left foot, being extended out of the altar-piece. If Bernini took the model of this con-

(*q*) I looked for this master's name in *le Dictionnaire des Beaux Arts*, but could only find that of Aldegraef.

(*r*) This Madonna was brought from Germany, in the beginning of the last century, by a bare-footed Carmelite. To this image, and their prayers to it, the Romans attribute every advantage gained by the Christians over the Turks, ever since the battle of Lepanto, inclusive.

vulsion from nature, his having hit on, and fixed its rapidity, is the highest pitch of art : if it be the work of his strong imagination, it is not less wonderful, that he should have so perfectly represented the movements of those convulsions, the sight of which was reserved for the eighteenth century, or that he should so well have filled up the sketch drawn by Virgil in his picture of the Sybil:

*Non vultus, non color unus,
Nec comptæ mansere comæ ; sed pectus anhelum
Et rabie fera cordâ tument.*

Nothing is more amazing than that such a piece should stand in such a place, the pannel of an altar.

In the Piazza Navona, a vault, said to be the very *fornix* where St. Agnes was exposed to the brutality of the Pretorian soldiers, is now a little chapel, the altar of which has no other ornament than an image of the saint in semi-relievo, almost as big as life, and quite naked ; but her long tresses seem accidentally to cover some parts of a most beautiful body. Algardi has accompanied this critical situation with an air of decency, pudicity, and sanctity, perfectly suitable to the figure, and the place it stands in.

The last sculptor who did the most business at Rome, and has acquired a growing reputation, is Peter le Gros, a native of France, who died at Rome, 1719, aged fifty years. His fate was like that of the famous Poussin : the same causes, that is, the same jealousies, the same malignant practices, induced both to leave their country, and determined them to settle at Rome, which was so wise as to avail itself of their country's ingratitude.

ST. LUKE'S ACADEMY.—The kind of inactivity into which the fine arts are fallen at Rome, has made no alteration in the condition of St. Luke's academy, in which are cultivated the three daughters of Design; Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. This academy was founded in the sixteenth century by Mutiano, an able master of the Roman school. In the last century its reputation was raised by Pietro de Cortona, and in the present it has received a considerable encouragement in the prizes instituted by Clement XI. for the pupils of the three arts.

On one side of the church of St. Martin, which belongs to this academy, are several contiguous apartments for its schools. The principal piece is a vast hall, the sides of which are covered with the performances of academicians. In a closet is kept Raphael's head, as taken out of his tomb several years after his death. Over this relique, on which the academy places a very great value, is cardinal Bembo's famous distich :

*Hic ille est Raphaël, timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, & moriente mori.*

I don't know whether M. Rollin, or P. Bouhours, have ever brought this high-flown distich to the test: I am inclined to doubt whether it would have turned out to its advantage.

On the 18th of September I partook, jointly with all Rome, of the spectacle exhibited by the academy, for the nineteenth distribution of the prizes founded by Clement XI.; a spectacle performed with that grandeur and magnificence which the Roman genius still retains. The large hall in

the Capitol was the scene of the exhibition : it was hung all over with crimson damask and velvet, edged with broad gold lace and fringes, and illuminated with lustres and branches : at one end of it was a semi-circular *estrade*, or small theatre, in the centre of which stood a chair of state, and over it the portrait of the reigning pope under a canopy, than which nothing could be richer ; over it a gallery ; all concurring to the general decoration of the hall. Facing the theatre were placed, likewise in the form of a semi-circle, *fauteuils* for the cardinals ; and on the right and left two galleries, one for the pretender, who at Rome is styled King of England ; the other for ambassadors and foreign ministers. Twenty cardinals, who honoured the ceremony with their presence, having seated themselves, the *Arcadia*, or the society of the Arcadians, took their places along the first seat of the theatre. The academy of St. Luke, which was at the expence of the spectacle, filled the second. Monsignor Carrara mounted the *rostrum* ; and immediately from the gallery was heard a symphony composed for the occasion, and executed by the best instruments in Rome. This was succeeded by an Italian oration delivered by M. Carrara, and which lasted about half an hour. In it the orator set forth the eminent services which the fine arts have received from religion, and those which the fine arts render to religion. A fresh symphony proclaimed the distribution of the prizes, which are silver medals of different models, nine for three classes in painting, and a like number for sculpture and architecture. On an Italian, and especially a Roman, being called, the hall

rang

rang with shouts, claps, &c. but a young Frenchman (M. Berton of Besançon) having been called up for the first prize of the first class of sculpture, these applauses subsided into a deep silence, which afterwards rose to a murmur. This silence animated all the foreigners who were at the ceremony, and they loudly expressed their pleasure at a Spaniard's obtaining the next prize. Two French youths, and a young artist from Scotland, were likewise crowned in different classes. The distribution of the prizes was performed by the cardinals, from whom the conquerors came to receive them; and who could not but be charmed with the condescension, kindness, and commendations with which their eminences accompanied this ceremony. After another symphony, and in the midst of fresh acclamations, the Arcadians read, in turns, sonnets, and some other pieces composed by them, in honour of the fine arts and the victors; for, all over Italy, a *functio*, a country wake, the festival of a fraternity, a monk or nun's taking the habit, a thesis or any collegiate act, produces sonnets: such a ceremony without a sonnet would be a *partridge without orange*.

The emphasis with which these productions are read, especially by their authors, was observed to the height in those which followed the distribution of the prizes. The sonnets amounted to twenty; and with them was intermixed a very poetical prediction on the vicissitudes of the Capitol, which abbé Golt put in the mouth of Saturn; and an ingenious dialogue by abbé Pezzi, between him and the Marcus Aurelius in the Capitol, on the gran-

deur of modern Rome. The dialogue ended in the following verses :

*Sè il Tarpeo di virtude é si fecondo,
Se i figli tuoi vantàn si bel ardire,
Sempre, ó Roma, sarai scuola del mondo.*

Among the sonnets I took notice of two, the thought of which seemed to me new, apposite, and well expressed. In the former the anonymous author made a reply to these verses of Virgil, *Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra*, &c. and to the prediction contained in them, which not a little depreciates the object of the festival. The author of the second was Dr. Melani, who introduced Poetry complaining to Painting and Sculpture of the present disparity of their fortune. This sonnet bids fair to pass the Alps.

*Anch' io seggo sublime in Campidoglio,
Pingo e scolpisco anch' io. Se la possente
Cetra mi reco in man, fracco l'orgoglio
Del Tempo, e rendo al Di le forme spente.*

*Quel che voi fate, anch' io far posso e soglio;
Mà cresce il mio valor. Del gran Clemente
Voi non potete, io ben potrò, se voglio,
Co' i carmi effigiar l'augusta mente.*

*Noi fiam sorelle al par ben nate e oneste;
Mà chi sù i marmi o sulle tele suda,
Oltre l'onor, cibo ne tragge e veste.*

*Per me viene ogni età sempre più cruda,
Che io piena d'aura e d'armonia celeste
Mi veggo in mezzo à voi povera e nuda.*

STUDIES and LITERATURE.—Of all the cities in Europe it is at Rome alone that literature has constantly met with aids, resources, encouragements, and objects of employment. Accordingly, it is the only one which can reckon an uninterrupted series of celebrated *literati*. If this succession be not equally shining through all its periods, yet, even in the most obscure, Rome was still the depositary of learning; and it is she from whom have always issued the first scintillations, which have been productive of the most signal improvements.

Since the last, in which Nicholas V. and his successor had so great a share, scientific assistances and resources have greatly increased at Rome. Colleges, schools, seminaries, public and private libraries, every thing concurs to inspire youth with a taste for science and literature, and to facilitate the culture of the intellects.

Besides the Vatican library, which both for the stores of learning in all kinds contained in it, and the manner of accommodating the public, may be looked on as the capital library in the universe, those of La Sapienza, the Propaganda, the Augustinians, the Cazanate at the Minerva, &c. are open every day, morning and evening.

Cardinal Cazanate, the founder of the last, has shewed a munificence becoming a sovereign in the funds for its maintenance and its increase; in the salaries of the librarians and their assistants; and in founding two lectureships, in which eight doctors of different nations, that is, the choice of the whole Dominican order, daily declaim on St. Thomas's doctrine. The first object which pre-

sents itself to the eye on entering into this spacious hall, and no less splendid than spacious, is the statue of the founder inviting the lovers of literature to make use of the helps which he has provided for them. This statue is of white marble, as big as life, and intirely worthy of Le Gros the artist, who has improved the exact likeness with an air of grandeur and benevolence, dignity and affability.

The private libraries are less useful to the learned in the quantity and choice of the books, than by the easiness of admission, and politeness of the librarians. Such are the Pamphili, Barberini, Borghese, Chigi, Altieri, Albani libraries, &c.

I ought to have reckoned, even among the public libraries, that of the Corsini palace, though it be so only *per la cortesia* of the noble proprietors. It is open every day, and at every hour, under the direction of messieurs Bottari and Foggini, who divide their attendance between that and the Vatican. The respectable age of the former renders him at Rome what Nestor was in the camp of the Greeks. He is a great divine, of an exemplary piety, versed in all learning the profound and elegant, of fine judgment, and with all the Florentine amenity; so that his conversation, his informations, his advice, are equally esteemed by the learned, the *litterati*, the artists, natives and foreigners. The abbé Foggini, so well known to the learned world by his fine edition of the Medicean Virgil, and the collection of the works on the belief of the church of Rome concerning Grace, is equally able, and equally ready, to oblige those who stand in need of his assistance.

The

The head houses of orders have generally valuable collections of books, and are very easy of access. I shall mention only that of the fathers of the oratory, which has produced the works of the cardinals Baronius and Bona, those of father Raynaldi, &c. and in which are preserved all their materials and manuscripts. The librarian was about publishing the letters and different treatises of cardinal Baronius. Among the latter I perused one, written with great solidity and force, inscribed to Clement VIII. on the necessity of granting the absolution, which Henry IV. king of France had long been soliciting. I was assured, that this treatise was what mainly determined the pope to make an end of that great affair. I have forgot the French ambassador's reason in declining the dedication, for which the editor desired his permission.

About thirty years ago Rome had three cardinals particularly distinguished for their opulence in books; Davia, Gualterio, Imperiali: the first was always reading, and never wrote any thing; the second was always writing, and never read; and the third neither read nor wrote. His library now belongs to cardinal Spinelli, who, both for the learned and himself, makes that use of it which becomes a nobleman of his learning, judgment, and communicative affability. This valuable treasure is under the superintendency of M. Simeoli, his theologian, and one of the first divines of the Roman communion.

In that of cardinal Passionei, so well known to all Europe, were collected the best, the scarcest, and the most remarkable performances in all kinds, and all languages ancient and modern, the

Jesuit writers excepted. Of these the cardinal would often boast that he had not so much as one. In forming this inestimable library he had employed all intervals from business, his travels, his long stay in all the parts of Europe, the interest of his rank, and the connexions arising from his post as librarian to the Vatican, and secretary of the briefs. He was his own librarian, and knew every book as perfectly as if they had not been above a hundred. His doing the honours of it himself was the more pleasing to the learned, as no body could better assist and enlarge their views.

One of Benedict the XIVth's chief diversions was to put cardinal Passionei *in furia*, by attacking him in what he most valued himself on, his books. His palace and apartment overlooking that of the cardinal, put him in the way of enjoying that entertainment at pleasure.

His eminence had some original anecdotes of letters written by the celebrated father Paul Sarpi's own hand. He took a delight in frequently quoting scraps of these letters, as exciting a curiosity which he never could be prevailed on to gratify. He even could not be brought to it by solicitations and instances, which the pope himself had made to him in the name of the learned procurator Foscarini (s). The pope, turning this resistance to a double advantage, that is, obliging M. Foscarini and teasing the cardinal, found means to convey out of his library that volume of which he was so very chary, placing in its room another, the outside of which was perfectly like it. On this success, the cardinal

(s) Since Doge of Venice.

being

being one day with him, he turned the conversation on Fra. Paölo and his letters. The cardinal, as usual, with great pleasure mentioned some passages, and the pope seemed to doubt of the reality: Passionei insisted, Benedict denied; till at last the cardinal, wrought up to the heat which was intended, started up, shot away to his library, and returned with the volume of letters in his hand, but, to his astonishment, found it only a blank. The torrent of his indignation bore down all decorum: he broke out into the most violent invectives and menaces, which the pope, after a while indulging his humour, could scarce put a stop to by very condescending excuses, and returning him the real volume. He daily received books from all parts of Europe; and the contents of every invoice, Giacomino, his librarian, used to lay on a table appointed for that purpose in the first room of his library. His first business, on rising, was to look into these books, and put them up in their proper places. In the height of Busenbaum's affair, the pope found means to convey a copy of the Jesuit's work among the books which the cardinal was to look into. On the sight of this work, the cardinal

*Improvissum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
Pressit humi nitens*

Obstupuit, retròque pedem cum voce repressit.

Being a little recovered from the tumult of passion, which such a hateful object had excited in him, he rings, and calls his librarian: Giacomino hastening to him, he orders him to open the window, and with all his force throws poor Busenbaum

baum down into Monte-Cavallo's square. In the midst of this transaction the pope appears, and gives him a very formal benediction. I have been told, that the cardinal answered this benediction with a gesture, which completed the diversion the pope had promised himself from this scene.

The distinguished manner, in which his eminence received madame du Boccage, his assiduous attendance on her, his eagerness to bring her into the best companies, had set all Rome in a wonder. The Roman ladies were not a little piqued at seeing a French woman thus leading in triumph, one who never had shewn them the least regard, and who, in no very obliging manner, roundly made known to them the reason of such a preference. The pope did not fail of availing himself of this metamorphosis: when the cardinal went out in a coach with madame du Boccage, he took care to be at his window, and give them a double benediction, saying he had even declared himself the cardinal's rival, pretending to be as good a judge of the lady's merit as himself. The eagerness with which these two octogenarians vied with each other in this intercourse, rendered it something more than entertaining to the charming object of it, who, both in the regard shewn to her every where, and in the presents she received from the pope at her departure, was treated as a princess. The cardinal has more than once said to me in our airings in St. Peter's area, "Here madame du Boccage and I have often taken an airing together; I was her squire. All these scoundrels said that I was in love with her; and indeed they said no more than what was true: but it was
" not

“ not the beauty and attractives of the sex which I
“ loved in her ; no, it was the amiable qualities of
“ her nation, heightened by a noble assemblage of
“ various learning and exquisite talents.”

With a greater compass of learning, a longer stay at Rome might have given me a considerable insight into the present state of the sciences and literature in this city. I inquired after some circumstances of the author of *Ricciardetto's* life; the last epic poem that Italy has produced, and wherein is revived all that natural turn and sprightliness, which procured such reputation to the *Morgante*, the *Furioso*, and other Italian master-pieces of that kind. I very innocently met with an opportunity of being convinced, that the poet had taken the originals of most of the characters in his poem from nature, and from persons known to him. The capital of them all is, according to the liberty taken by the Italians, not the hero whose name the poem bears, but one *Ferrau*, or *Ferragus*, a giant, whose character is a strange but natural medley, with all the good and bad qualities common to one of strong passions, and a stranger to the yoke of education. Being full of this character, as we read the book every night, it came into my head one day to ask a person of the first rank in Rome who the original of *Ferrau* might be: “ Fie! sir,” answered he superciliously, “ fie! mere stuff and trash.” On that very day I happened to hear that this personage was himself the original, which I had been inquiring after.

The author of this poem, Monsignor Fortinguerra, has concealed his name under the Greek disguise of *Carteromaco*. He had gradually risen to the
upper

upper prelacy. His poem, which, after taking him up a long time, undoubtedly shortened his life, would have raised him to the purple in the age when the Bembos, the La Cafas, the Bibienas, obtained it by the florid shrubberies of an entertaining literature; but different times, different customs. Clement XI. was very fond of M. Fortinguerra; and, as he made him the companion of his chearful intervals, had contributed to his promotion. Clement XII. found him engaged in his *Ricciardetto*, urged him to continue it, and gave him expectations of the purple: however, he failed of it in a promotion, at which it had been formerly promised him. The pope excused himself, but with the strongest assurances of his succeeding in the next: still he met with a second disappointment; and this neglect throwing him into despair, he gave himself up to vexation, so that a lingering disease, its consequence, carried him to the grave. When he was very near it, the pope sent one of his chamberlains with a compliment to encourage him, and with a firm promise of granting him this long-wished-for purple. At this promise, the sick person turning about, and lifting up the sheet which covered him, made an explosion like that of Horace's *truncus ferculnus*, and said to the messenger, *Eccovi la risposta: bon viaggio e per lei e per mi.** After M. Fortinguerra had begun his *Ricciardetto* he used to carry it about with him, and all places were alike for his working at it. In visits, which run away with a great part of a prelate's time, and in the various *functions*

* "That's your answer; there will soon be an end to us both."

which

which take up the remainder, he would be drawing up a battle, a nocturnal meeting, or be describing a noon, a dawn, and all those vague pieces which form the *borra* of Italian poems. Could he have imagined that cardinal Lambertini was to have succeeded Clement XII. that hope would have supported him, as, from a friendship founded on a conformity of temper, disposition and talents, and cemented by a familiar acquaintance, there was nothing which he might not have expected.

Italy always had, and Rome still has, *improvvisatori*; that is, poets, who, like Alexander's Cherilus, compose and repeat two or three hundred extempore verses on any subject; a talent, which however is not so much to the praise of those who pride themselves in it, as of the language which is so copious and versatile as to answer all the varieties of such a knack, which Cicero has termed *audax negotium & impudens*. There is reason to hope, that the present prevalence of a just taste, and a spirit of consistence in the republic of letters, will at length proscribe the frivolousness of these *improvvisatori*, which too much abounds in most literary dissertations of Italian growth; and that these dissertations will keep to what they promise to treat of, and for the future not so easily admit common-place, parade of science, and things trite and vulgar.

Latinity at Rome shines in all its ancient lustre. The *Coriphæi* in this kind are M. Buonamici, whose Latin history of the two last Italian wars is known to every body; Monsignor Giacomelli, the author of two or three excellent pieces worthy of the age
of

of the Bembo's and Sadolet's; father Serrai, of the oratory of St. Jerome, &c. At my leaving Rome, I was favoured with the first copy of the Life of the Illustrious Gravina, which the latter was publishing. The Latinity of this Life does honour to the literary hero whom it celebrates.

Natural history has long been cultivated in Italy, where the learned Aldrovandus opened a school to which Europe owes its first inclination to physical inquiries.

Rome was the centre of several of those branches of science, which Italy communicated to the rest of Europe. There is now a complaint, that some communities, who are particularly invested with the education of youth, seem not so much to mind training them to the sciences and literature, as to insinuate themselves into their good opinion and esteem, and instil into them a blind devotedness to their masters; in a word, to hood-wink parents from seeing the errors of this futile education, and mislead them in their ideas of their children's progress, by acting plays, which only exercise the memory, without instructing the mind, or mending the heart.

I happened to be at the acts of the professors of the Roman college, on opening their classes in 1758. The rhetorician made a Latin speech in prose, and then proceeded to a declamation, in Alexandrine verses, against sonnet-makers and poets, who conceit themselves Horaces and Virgils, without any previous trial of genius, or fund of literature. The logician, after a long discourse, in bad prose, on the intense labour which philosophy requires, on the disorders, and particularly

cularly the head-achs, occasioned by such labour, repeated a long poem, in hexameters and pentameters, on the remedy of those disorders; that is, coffee, and the best way of making it: above fifty of the pentameters ended in the word *Cibus* in all its cases, plural and singular, which form an iambic. The jejunenefs of this composition, with the poet's snuffling monotony, were more than I could stand, so that I took myself away.

Cardinal Cavalchini, whom his devotedness to the directors of this college, has put by the *tiara*, had two nephews there, in one of the upper forms. One day it came into his mind to examine them about literature and religion (*t*); and he found them both so very ignorant, that, to the great surprize of all Rome, he sent them away to the university of Turin. A very signal, but fruitless satisfaction, was given to him in dismissing from the college father Carraffa, his nephews immediate preceptor.

POPULATION and TRADE.—Rome in circumference is not less than three French leagues: it contains three hundred and sixty-seven churches, convents, chapels, &c. Of these are seventy-five parochial, eleven having chapters, a hundred convents of men, in some of which are no less than three hundred religious, forty-six nunneries, eleven conservatories, twenty-eight hospitals, twenty-four colleges, and the remainder chapels, either belonging to fraternities, or for some particular devotion. If to such as live in these places, or who officiate at them, you add the ecclesiastics depending on the pope, the *castrati*, the numerous retinue of the

(*t*) This happened since Clement the XIIIth's exaltation.

court, of the cardinals and prelates, you at once conceive how Rome is peopled ; the total of its inhabitants being only about a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and fifty thousand souls.

This number is kept up, not by the children born there, but by Italians, and people of all nations, flocking thither ; of whom not a few settle, on account of the many helps and conveniences the place affords to laziness. These reliefs cannot be supposed very inviting to those *quibus est domus, & pater, & res* ; so that, in this respect, it is as if Romulus's asylum still continued open.

Rome has some manufactures, but which do not answer for exportation : the silken material of these manufactures is generally but bad ; and the stuffs made of it, though neither slightly nor serviceable, are as dear as the best and the most beautiful of foreign manufactures. This exorbitant price is chiefly owing to the long credit which the Roman tradesmen are obliged to give, the *buona mancia* and the presents required of them by the domestics of the houses which they serve.

The only articles which Rome exports are artificial flowers, pomatums, gloves, &c. but these constitute a trade of great profit.

It has several considerable houses for banking, and bills of exchange ; and the nature of the money affairs, which Rome deals in, puts it in their power to keep the course of exchange very high.

Holland and Swisserland supply it with linen ; England, with cloth : all it takes from France is the stuffs of Mans : this is the only article of trade in this country, of which the English have not yet been able to deprive the French.

JOURNEY TO NAPLES

BY MONT CASSINO.

WE set out from Rome for Naples in the beginning of October. There are two parallel roads leading to it : that by Veletri and Terracina is the most frequented ; the other goes through Cignani and near Mont Cassino, which we were for seeing: both are equally a destruction to carriages ; and they who ride post have frequent occasion to remember Horace's *minus est gravis Appia tardis*. We followed his counsel, and put ourselves in the hands of the *procaccio*, who at a settled rate carries you in a *vis-à-vis* to Naples, provides your meals, and defrays all other customary expences ; but at your journey's end you find yourself sufficiently *lassatus, sed non satiat*.

We took Mont Cassino road, making part of a caravan of five or six such carriages. This way runs along the country of the ancient Hernici, which now separates the Campania of Rome from the kingdom of Naples.

A N A G N I.

Anagni was one of the most considerable towns of this rocky country ; and Virgil has said of it, *Hernica saxa colunt quos dives Anagnia pascit**. How this town, since its inhabitants delivered up their countryman Boniface VIII. to the French and Sciarra Colonna, is fallen from such an epithet (if it ever was worthy of it) is well known. The curse which that pope thundered out against it for

* Æn. L. vii.

such an injury, still pursues it, though the Anagnians procured a formal repeal of it by Clement VII. It is a general notion through Italy, that in this place and its territory, since that malediction, so far from having the plenteous crops of their neighbours, their profits do not answer their charges and labour.

At the foot of the mountain on whose summit stands the town, our *procaccio* had prepared a dinner for us, such as Boniface might have ordered for the accursed objects of his resentment. I persuaded my fellow travellers, mostly French, to go up to the town, and take our chance of faring no better, and at our own expence. After an ascent of an hour through very fine olive plantations, we reached the town. The appearance immediately confirmed the disadvantageous accounts we had heard of it. No shelter for us but a frightful cabaret, where some goats livers, lights, &c. were cooking for half-naked ill-looking vintagers, who came in successively, and sat down, in clubs of four or five, at a great table without any table-cloth. Of this table, and two forms along the sides, consisted all the furniture of this delightful receptacle : they were as old as Boniface VIII. and the nastiness of them was of a piece with their ancientness. We sat down however, heartily lamenting the *proccacio*'s dinner. The jargon which our messmates spoke, being so unintelligible as not to admit of any talk with them, deprived us of the only amends we could expect.

The people whom we afterwards saw in the streets, gave us to understand that we had the honour of dining with the heads of the place:
yet

yet has it a bishop ; and the cathedral and palace were both rebuilding, indeed in a taste quite answerable to the condition of the see. The cathedral piazza is a platform of earth, from whence one has a sight, as far as the eye can reach, of the several countries south of Anagni (*u*). The view of such a rich and variegated landscape was some comfort to us under our disaster, reminding us, that in the physical as in the moral world, even the worst situations are not without some bright side to a reflective mind.

From Anagni, still skirting the *Saxa Hernica*, we went along the foot of the mountain, on which is situated Ferentino, the conquest of which signified the reign of Servius Tullius. We lay that night at Frusinone, the capital of the Campania of Rome. Neither this road, nor the town, afford a single monument of antiquity. The walls of the houses are only heaps of rubbish and pebbles, of a prodigious thickness, with two low narrow voids for a door and a window to each apartment : a manner of building, which, though it be a comfortable fence against the excessive heats, makes the rooms extremely damp, and gives them the appearance of vaults.

It was then vintage-time at Frusinone. They brought the grapes in baskets and hampers ; and having crushed them with their feet in a kind of

(*u*) It gives you a sight of the *rudera* of Fumone castle, where Boniface VIII. confined his predecessor Celestin V. after compelling him to abdicate the papacy : but Boniface VIII. himself, when delivered up to the revenge of the French and the Colonnas, must, on seeing that castle, have been reminded of the scriptural maxim, “ With what measure ye mete, it shall be meted to you.”

bathing-tubs, they tumbled the wine into large coppers, where it boiled very violently. These coppers were set up in the very street, at the door of every house, the brick work joining with the wall. This mirthful scene, besides exhibiting in reality the vintages as described by the authors, or represented by the artists, of antiquity, was a sight which we had not yet met with in any part of Italy. All this work was done only by the men. At our arrival we had met a whole tribe of girls and women carrying home water, from a little stream at the foot of the eminence on which Frusinone stands. In the attitude of these women, the shape of the vessels which they carried on their head, and some resting in their way up the hill, we saw the originals of those scenes, with which the learned Poussin was so fond of enlivening his landscapes.

The next day's journey carried us through a country most delightfully watered, through rich pastures and grounds abounding in variety of exquisite products; yet this so delicious country wants inhabitants and husbandmen. Here anciently ended Latium, and here began the populous and martial nation of the Samnites; now here end the papal dominions, and here the kingdom of Naples begins.

After crossing the Garigliano, which is enlarged by several streams running into it through the above-mentioned country, we passed close by the ruins of Aquino, famous as the birth-place of the angelic doctor who adopted its name. Of this place, which still bears the title of County and Bishoprick, all that remains is a mill on the side
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of a brook, which skirts the ruins of the city. The stateliness and extent of the ruins are a melancholy proof of its former largeness and splendor, and impress on a reflective mind all the sentiments which it feels at the sight of a corpse : *Hem ! nos homunculi indignamur si quis nostrum interiit, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum tot oppidorum cadavera prostrata jaceant ! Visne tu te cohibere, Et meminisse hominem te esse natum ?**

This city, as I was informed, owes its ruin, and the emigration of its inhabitants, 1. to its being a thoroughfare for the troops in all the expeditions against the kingdom of Naples ; 2. to the disorders committed by those troops in a place defenceless of itself, and destitute of succors from those who defended the kingdom, on account of its being a very disadvantageous post ; 3. to the nearness of St. Germano, which, being under the auspices, and defended by the money, of the Benedictins, has drawn within its circuit such of the inhabitants of Aquino, Casino, and other neighbouring places, who were not disposed to seek a more distant retreat from the calamities of war.

CASINO.

In approaching St. Germano we passed close by the spot on which stood the town of Casino, the former magnificence of which is still seen in three monuments. 1. An amphi-theatre the most intire of any edifice of that kind : the entrance into it was through five doors, still standing except one ; and the ruins of this, by the vast blocks of which it was made, and the careful construction of the

* Sulpit. Epist. ad Cic.

sides, shew the grandeur of the edifice to which they belonged. The proportion of these doors is twenty-four king's feet to twelve. Time has spared the network veneering with which the whole circumference is covered; as likewise a projecting range of stones, forming, at about two thirds of its height, a kind of dentilated frieze: these stones, being all perforated perpendicularly, were undoubtedly intended for the lower end of the poles or rafters; the upper ends of which, reaching beyond the body of the edifice, were to support, by means of transversal ropes, the canvas which sheltered the spectators. This amphi-theatre is at the hill's foot, and seems to have stood in the centre of the city. It is exactly round; its height fifty feet, the diameter thirty.

2. A theatre, with only the scene remaining, and that leaning against the very side of the mountain, in a semi-circular form of two hundred and sixty feet diameter.

3. An ancient temple, with all its parts in good preservation. This temple stands on the brow of the hill, in the form of a Latin cross; which might bring a doubt on its antiquity, were it not evidenced from its being built without lime or cement. It is now a chapel to a hermitage.

On a level in an interval of the mountain stood Varro's country house and gardens. Cicero, reproaching Antony for profaning these places with his debaucheries, has these words: *Studiorum suorum M. Varro illud voluit diversorium. Quæ in illâ villâ dicebantur! Quæ cogitabantur! Quæ literis mandabantur! Jura P. R. monumenta majorum, omnis sapientiæ ratio, omnisque doctrina**.

* Philipp. ii.

Of all that immense erudition nothing has reached us but Varro's Treatise on Agriculture, which he composed at the extremity of his advanced age. The best situation for a farm, which he there delineates from Cato, is exactly that of his country house near Casino : *Optimus ager est qui sub radice montis situs spectat ad meridiem*. This treatise is not a collection of Varro's lessons to cultivators, but an account of the several methods and proceedings of farmers for making the most of different soils, and turning the several parts of husbandry to the best advantage.

Varro undoubtedly had truth on his side, in saying that no part of the world was in his time so well cultivated as Italy ; *nullam quæ tam tota sit culta*. Things are sadly altered. To mention only a district, the cultivation of which Varro was the most able to judge of ; that admirable spot which we had passed over from Frusinone, is scarce tilled ; and particularly that, where Varro's own farm stood, is partly forsaken.

The whole of this tract indeed is not easy to cultivate ; the fatness of the soil makes it very difficult to manage ; so that, to bring it into heart again, it should be divided into farms, and not worked, as it is, by a few ploughmen, who, living in the small towns above the plain, are at too great a distance from their work.

We saw these ploughmen at their business : their ploughs, which have only a share without wheels or fore part, are drawn by four, five, or six pair of oxen (v),

(v) When two pair are sufficient, they yoke them in front. These oxen do not belong to the ploughmen, they only hiring them as wanted.

oxen, with only one man, who stands upright on a little stool fitted to the head of the share, with his weight helps the action of the coulter, and singing or playing on a pipe, still keeps this post, even on returning to a fresh furrow. By this odd procedure, where the field is inclosed by a ditch, a hedge, or bushes, as much ground is lost, all along the circumference, as the file of oxen take up; a trifling loss indeed in such a desert country, but which, in those that are well inhabited, and where ground is more valuable, would occasion a multitude of endless law-suits.

MONT CASSINO.

This spot, where we were surprised to see people sowing linseed (in October) is a part of the immense estates belonging to the abbey of Mont Cassino. St. Benedict founded this abbey in 525; or, in other words, that saint, attended by two disciples, and preceded by two angels, with three ravens, behind him, came and settled in an hermitage, at that time possessed by a good anchorit, whom he persuaded to give it up to him. Though this was in the sixth century, and at the gates of Rome, part of the town of Cassino was still idolatrous, worshipping an Apollo who had a famous temple on the hill where now stands the abbey. St. Benedict threw down the idol, demolished the temple, replacing it with the convent, converted the idolaters, and preached to the Christians, whom their bishop had forsaken, and died lord temporal and spiritual of the country and its inhabitants. All this was done at the time when Italy, a prey to barbarians, was subject to
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the Goths, to Theodat, to Vitiges, and Totila. Mont Cassino was destroyed in 589 by the Lombards, rebuilt in 660, pillaged in 884 by the Saracens, but found means to improve its private misfortunes and the general desolation into an enlargement of its possessions and increase of its opulence: *crevit ruinis*. This appears from its chronicles, and from the history which had been composed from those vouchers.

The popes heaped immunities on it; and, by an unparalleled privilege, its abbots, in 1326, obtained the title of Bishops, and performed all pastoral functions, till in 1367 Urban V. was obliged, for the good of the house, to restore things to their original footing.

Urban II. had, by a bull of 1092, conferred on the abbey the title of *Caput omnium Monasteriorum, quia ex eodem loco, de Benedicti pectore monastici ordinis veneranda religio, quasi de Paradisi fonte manavit*.

The abbot, at present a regular, and whose dignity is only triennial, in all instruments styles himself Patriarch of the Holy Religion, Abbot of the Sacred Monastery of Cassino, Chancellor and Premier Chaplain of the Roman Empire, Abbot of the Abbots, Chief of the Benedictin Hierarchy, Chancellor and Collateral of the Kingdom of Sicily, Count and Governor of Campania, of the Terra de Labrador, and the Maritime Province, Prince of Peace.

The person of the present abbot, to whom we were introduced on our arrival at St. Germano, has nothing of the fastidiousness of such titles, being a young man of a noble, mild, and engaging countenance, heightened by a candour more common

in a novice than an abbot, and an easy and natural politeness. I was recommended to Don Pepe, one of the procurators general of the house by his brother, procurator general to the order of Malta in Sicily. Don Pepe shewed the greatest regard to this recommendation, giving me at the same time to understand, that he never heard from his family but by such recommendations ; that he had no knowledge of it, nor had he ever known it, having, from the age of ten years, no other father, no other relation, no other guardian and benefactor, than St. Benedict ; and that this was the case of far the greater part of the persons of birth, who wore the Benedictin habit.

I said that we saw the abbot at St. Germano, a small town of about four thousand inhabitants, insensibly formed at the foot of Mont Cassino, out of the ruins of neighbouring places. Here the abbot resides, with part of his officers, in a house large enough to receive all passengers, from the pope to the beggar ; and every one is treated according to his rank or recommendations. The abbot daily visits all the guests, who sometimes amount to two or three hundred. Such an exercise of hospitality was the best contrivance imaginable, for reconciling envy with St. Benedict's immense riches.

The day after our arrival, we set out for Mont Cassino, but first waited on the abbot to receive his commands : he desired us to defer our journey till the afternoon, apprehending that we should fare but disagreeably in a house where they live only on herbs and pulse dressed with oil. Seeing us determined to stand this meager dinner, that our jaunt might be the easier, he informed us where we
should

should meet with muletiers, who, having stables on the top and at the foot of the hill, carry and bring back the pilgrims, and who, depending upon their word, never fail immediately returning from one stable to the other, when their departures exceed the returns.

We could not but be charmed with the abbot's courteousness; however, being in sight of the monastery, which seemed at no great distance, and encouraged by the freshness of the air and beauty of the sky, we set out on foot. The steepness of the mountain is something abated by a well-paved zig-zag road, which, in the plan and execution, is very like the present road from France into Alsace over Saverne hill.

We had been climbing a full hour; yet Mont Cassino appeared to be further off; and the heat of the sun, now ascending the horizon, was increased by the reflexion of the immense rock which we were skirting. We began to repent of our undertaking, when we perceived a muletier upon his return: we would fain have persuaded him to go back to Mont Cassino; but he went on.

At length we came to a place of the mountain, where, in the bare rock, is a cavity said to be the impression of one of St. Benedict's knees, when, prostrating himself in this place, he called on God for strength to destroy Apollo's temple, and overthrow the idol (*w*). The heat made us so faint

(*w*) We had already seen, lower down, such a cavity, said to be the impression of a mule's thigh, which the devil caused to fall under St. Benedict. The scrapings of the edges of this impression were held by the country people to be an approved febrifuge.

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that we began to be out of hopes, when we were overtaken by a muletier, who was returning upwards. This man very readily allowed us to get upon his beast in turns; and this, at last, brought us to Mont Cassino, after two hours continual walking in a bath of sweat, and quite foundered with hunger and weariness.

The entrance is through a long dark arched place, like a vault; and this is all that remains of the original house built by St. Benedict: it indeed little suits such a house, but may be of great use in case of a sudden attack. The other buildings, which stand on a continued counterscarp of eighteen feet elevation, have only a scalade to fear. These buildings outwardly form a vast oblong square, of several stories distinguished in an elegant manner; the whole crowned by a grand cornice supporting the roof. The inside is divided into numberless courts, porticos, and colonades, suited to the offices, wants, and conveniences, of a community which is always very numerous.

On our entrance, chance threw us into the bake-house, where they were drawing a prodigious quantity of small oil-cakes, in themselves not over good; but we, being very sharp set, thought them admirable. As we were regaling ourselves with the monastical pastry, we made use of the conveniency of the place for drying our clothes. One of the bakers kindly lent us a hand, smiling, and saying from time to time, *Ab! Francesi!*

In going to the church we crossed three courts: in the middle of the two first are two *frustums* of columns; one of granite, the other of exceeding fine porphyry: they are nine feet in circumference; which

which speaks the height of these columns when intire, the grandeur of the edifice for the decoration of which they were brought hither, and the difficulty of bringing them to such a height.

You ascend from one court to the other by stairs, the disposition and ornaments of which show equal judgment, delicacy, and magnificence. The third, by way of excellence called *Paradise*, is fronted, all along its breadth, with a stair-case of forty steps, and two large marble statues on it, representing St. Benedict and St. Scholastica. It is crowned with a peristyle of granite pillars ; and this is terminated by a splendid balustrade, on the masonry work of which stand four antique busts. This peristyle serves as a front to a portico still more brilliant, forming the church's lobby, and resting on twenty columns most of oriental granite. Under this grand portico are disposed seventeen marble statues, as big as life, with this inscription :

HEROIBUS BENE MERENTIBUS

CASINATES

PROPRIAE PIETATIS ARGUMENTUM

MONIMENTUM ALIENÆ.

MDCXLVI.

The first rank of this august assembly consists of eight popes, most of the order of St. Benedict ; St. Gregory leading, and Benedict XIV. closing the file. Next appear six sovereigns, of whom the first is Charlemagne, and the last Don Carlos king of Naples, and now king of Spain ; but the workmanship of this statue does no great honour

honour to the subject of it. St. Benedict's father and mother, and the first benefactor to Mont Cassino, complete the group; among which the statues of St. Gregory and St. Henry, by the celebrated Le Gros, are eminently distinguished.

In one of the inward corners of the portico stands an ancient column of transparent alabaster, cut spiral-wise; its height six feet, and surmounted with a cross. A similar pillar is likewise one of the ornaments of the Vatican library.

The inside of the church eclipses all the splendor and richness bestowed on the avenues. It is an assemblage of the finest performances in painting, marble, and metals, without the least void for the eye to rest on. The paintings, which represent the miracles and visions of St. Benedict and his primitive disciples, are for the most part by Lanfranc, Luca Giordano, Muro, Solimene, and Conca. The architecture is not so much in the Roman as the Neapolitan taste, too profuse of ornaments; a profusion more especially apparent in the columns along the insides of the arcades of the nave; which makes this superb edifice look more like a theatre than a temple.

This edifice, after being successively destroyed by the Lombards and the Saracens, and totally overthrown by an earthquake in 1349, underwent the same disaster in the sixteenth century. Till that time it had been in the form of the Roman basilics; that is, the whole fore part of it, as far as the sanctuary, was a nave with two collaterals, supported and separated by a double row of columns. These were the beautiful columns
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of oriental granite, which the architect has disposed under the arcade in the nave of the new church, which was begun in the year 1649.

The altar, done from designs of Michael Angelo, exhibits the most exquisite marbles, most of them antique. At the foot of the altar is the tomb of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, which is also shewn in France, in the abbey of St. Benoit sur Loire. The two ends of the cross, in the centre of which stands the altar, are filled with two monuments, one of Peter de Medicis, brother to Leo X. the other of captain Ferramosca; in both which, the execution, and the grandeur and majesty of the design, are equally admired.

The choir, a great part of which was painted by Solimene, and its stalls of the most delicate sculpture, take up the lower end of the church. The stately organ-loft is loaded, as it were, with figures and decorations, all over gilt with gold.

Going out of the church, we could not but take notice of the doors: they are covered with compartments of bronze, containing, in silver letters, an enumeration of the fiefs, estates, and dependences, belonging to Mont Cassino. These immense possessions lie chiefly in the territories of Naples and the Two Sicilies. The lordships are always in the hands of the sovereign, to whom the abbey furnishes, what is called in France, *homme vivant et mourant*; with this difference, that a man is represented by a whole family, the perpetuity of which, how long soever it lasts, excludes all change and right of relief. The last living and dying family failed in the
reign

reign of Don Carlos, the present king of Spain. It is in acknowledgment of the indulgence shewn to Mont Cassino, on that occasion, that his statue in the lobby of the church was erected. To represent the *living and dying man*, he accepted of a woman, who had twelve sons married, and heads of families. This woman was still living in 1758; with the title of St. Benedict's Mother; and by a very special favour, she was allowed admission into the monastery of Mont Cassino.

The sacristy, for ornaments, vies with the church to which it is contiguous. These consist in statues, paintings, and basso relievos, all worthy of, and suitable to, the place. The like ornaments adorn the chapter; and indeed every claustral piece.

No where have I seen the records so splendidly lodged, and so well kept, as those of Mont Cassino. They take up three large rooms ornamented with paintings and other curiosities. Among the paintings are St. Peter and St. Paul, by a Greek artist, who flourished in the ninth century; and an original picture of Dante. Among the antiques we observed a Grecian-marble close-stool, of the most exquisite figure, in fine preservation, and all its projectures adorned with flourishes, the whole in such a taste, and such delicacy of workmanship, that I could not believe it had been made, as we were told, for the use of the house, at a time when baths were more usual than at present. The two utensils of this kind at Rome, in the convent of St. John de Lateran, have no other likeness to this than in the general figure: on comparing the design and execution, those of Rome seem to have been for
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the use of the populace; and that at Mont Cassino, for some prince, no less magnificent than curious in the choice of whatever was for his personal use.

In all these records, every thing is distributed with such judgment and precision, that there is not a document, a claim, a voucher, nor the least paper, which is not ready at hand. The keeper of the records bears the title of Apostolical Prothonotary; and any briefs, or warrants from him, are received as authentic in all the courts of Rome and the Two Sicilies. He has a small library for his own private use, in which are some books, printed when that art was in its infancy. I observed, among others, the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, published per Johannem Fust, civem Moguntinum, & Petrum Gernzheim, clericum diœcesis ejusdem, anno millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono, sexto die Octobris.

We concluded our view of the house with St. Benedict's library and tower. As to the library, it would little become me to speak of it after father Mabillon's account (x). The tower is over the first entrance. It was from this tower that St. Benedict saw the soul of St. Germain bishop of Capua, and that of St. Scholastica, flying to heaven in a fiery whirlwind: here likewise was his cell, in which he died. Time and the barbarians having spared this tower, it has since been connected with the body of the edifice: no traces

(x) I shall only take notice, that the *Defensor*, which the learned Benedictin places at the head of the *Inedita* of this library, has been printed six times between 1544 and 1560. *Iter Italic.* pag. 123.

of its original form remain, except in the inside of St. Benedict's apartment.

This apartment consists of three rooms, one converted into a chapel, but crowded with small paintings by the best masters ancient and modern. I have already observed, in the article of Rome, speaking of the chambers where St. Philip Neri, St. Ignatius, St. Stanislaus Koska, breathed their last, that it is customary in Italy to embellish, with such valuable pieces, the places where canonised saints expired. To give some idea of St. Benedict's collection, it is sufficient to name the principal masters whose performances are to be seen here : Raphael, Julio Romano, Albert Durer, Luke of Holland, Mark Anthony Caravaggio, Josepino, Hannibal Carraccio, Guido, Dominichini, Guerchini, Lanfranc, L'Espagnoletto, the Calabrian, the Bassans, Salviati, Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorrain, Luke Giordano, and Solimene : of the three last there are some inestimable pieces.

On going out of the abbey, we took notice of a statue of St. Benedict, with an open book in his hand, in which is written a singular privilege mentioned by St. Gregory to have been divinely conferred on this patriarch. It is expressed in these words: *Vix obtinere potui ut ex hoc loco animæ mibi cederentur* ; that is, according to the explanation given us, that all the Benedictins dying at Mont Cassino are saved. It is, to be sure, by an extension of this privilege, that the Benedictin nuns in France believe, that before any of them is near dying, the founder of Mont Cassino gives the
house

house notice of it by some noises in the night, which they call *St. Benedict's strokes*.

We had with astonishment seen, from the highest apartments which faced the north, that the monastery is but two thirds of the height of the mountain whose name it bears. The part above it seemed to us a bare rock, the peak of which is generally either covered with snow, or hid in clouds.

From the same apartments we were also shewn Albanetta, a small house, in a very delightful situation, west of the monastery, and not above five or six hundred paces distant. Its air is accounted so salubrious, that all the patients in the monastery, on their recovery are removed thither. Albanetta is famous for being the recess of Ignatius Loyola, who, in 1538, withdrew thither for some months, and composed his rule: *Montem illum contemplationis*, says a Dominican in a work intitled *Turtur Animæ, aliquot mensibus inhabitavit S. Ignatius, ibique, velut alter Moses & legislator, secundas religiosarum legum tabulas fabricavit, primis non abfimiles*. Unhappily for the Jesuits, he did not find the Benedictins so pliable as St. Benedict found the anchoret, who on his coming to Mont Cassino readily gave up to him the hermitage, of which he had long been in possession.

After spending the day most pleasantly, amidst so many fine things, we returned to St. Germano. On giving an account of our expedition, the abbot said, like the baker, but in a manner rather courteous than sly, *Ab! Francesi!* and was for having us stay till the next day, to rest from our fatigues.

From St. Germano we went and lay at Ca-

pua, across a wild, and almost desert country, which seems to afford many lurking-places for robbers. The slope of the mountains on our left, is that fine country which was watered by the Volturnus; a country so celebrated in antiquity for the Venafran oil, the Falernian and Massican wines; for the inexhaustible abundance of the tract called Campus Stellatus, which Cicero used to call *agrum orbis terræ pulcherrimum*; lastly, for the expedition of the Romans against the Samnites, and against Hannibal.

We could not prevail on our *procaccio* to take his way through this fine country. The roads, he said, were so bad and so broken, that for travellers the wilderness was to be preferred to the promised land. He was continually talking to us of the pleasure he should soon have in welcoming us to Capua, how gloriously we should live there, what good beds we should have, and what a number of fine things he would shew us.

C A P U A.

Capua, where we arrived early, is no longer the ancient Capua, that celebrated rival of Rome: the latter, which is full half a league from the former, now lies buried under the ruins of its ancient grandeur. A great quantity of these ruins have been removed into the new town: the walls of the town-house are lined with them, and exhibit gigantic grotesque heads, which adorned the key-stones of the amphitheatre: porticos, basso-relievos, are found in its galleries; besides inscriptions without number, among which I observed one of the Upper Empire, consecrated to S. C. in honour

of one *Pescennius*, for having, with his own money, redeemed, for the good of his fellow citizens, a field, the name of which is effaced. This Redemption is expressed by the word *reciperavit* (y).

Private houses are likewise enriched with fragments of these ruins. The two uprights at our *procaccio's* gate were two blocks of marble, with a consular figure on each, as big as life. Facing this house was a church, the construction of which, like that of the temple of Casino and the cathedral of Terracina, seem to speak it an ancient temple.

The inside of the cathedral, like a basilic, is supported and divided by twenty-four granite columns, of different modules, and consequently collected by chance. This church receives a considerable air of grandeur from the portico, consisting of twenty columns of unequal dimensions.

After gratifying our curiosity, we returned to our quarters, heartily disposed to do honour to the glorious living which the *procaccio* had given us to expect. The preparations consisted in a very foul table-cloth, laid over three boards supported by two benches, with two old *bicchieri*, or earthen ewers, full of very bad wine. They told us that glasses were not used in that country, but we should drink round in the *bicchieri*. The repast itself was a leg of an old he-goat, a fricassée with lamp-oil, and a sallad, with bread as bad as the wine. Such fare we could not touch; so we made our supper of some fruit, and this we devoured without bread.

(y) It is there used in the sense annexed to it by Verrius Flaccus.

As to the excellent beds, these were three straw matresses, each within a sort of an old bag. My fellow travellers ventured to lay themselves down, but the vermin soon made them repent of their hastiness. I, in this more wary than they, had betaken myself to a loft, where, on fresh straw, I had a pretty good night of it. Such to us were the delights of Capua.

NAPLES.

A short day's journey brought us from Capua to Naples, across that admirable country, of which Pliny speaks, under the name of *Campi Leborini* ;* from whence, I suppose, has corruptively been formed its modern appellation of *Terra di Lavoro*. From this tract, as the finest, the most fertile, and most delightful of all Italy, Virgil took the model of his Elysian fields :

Ver ibi perpetuum, atque alienis messibus æstas.

Naples is the queen of this fine country. We had inadvertently relied on our *procaccio* for the choice of an inn in this city ; and he set us down at an old Calabrian's, in a street, the inhabitants of which were all shoe-makers and cobblers. There however we staid, apprehending we should be no gainers by a removal.

Naples is at present the only considerable place in a state, which formerly was covered with towns and inhabitants. The Greater Greece, the ruins of which are part of this state, had seen its period so early as Cicero's time : *Magna Græcia*

* Hist. L. iii.

nunc non est (z). This country, which was governed by the laws of Pythagoras, of Zaleucus, Carondas, Architas, Parmenides, Zeno; which was honoured with the presence of Homer, Simonides, Pindar, Plato, and Virgil; the asylum of arts and philosophy; the theatre of industry and commerce, by its many ports on the two seas; the centre of the most ingenious magnificence, and of the most curious luxury; this country now scarce affords inhabitants to carry on a very superficial cultivation of it.

The invasions of barbarians, the revolutions in government, the claims of the popes, the frequent change of its sovereigns, the extinction of the trade to the Levant and Africa, are the most palpable causes of the low condition, into which this state is sunk, yet from which it may not be impossible to raise it. Don Carlos, when sovereign here, had actually begun this glorious work, by clearing the revenue farms alienated by the Spanish viceroys; by freeing the country people from slavery to the nobility and clergy, who had power of life and death over these poor wretches; and by granting to such places, as were most advantageously situated, proper privileges for increasing their population, and animating industry.

The concentration of the kingdom of Naples

(z) *Pro S. Roscio*. To which he adds, *Qui in Salentinis aut in Brutiis habitant, unde vix ter in anno nuntiam audire possent*: which proves that, in point of communication and intercourse, this country was as bad off as at present; but it proves nothing against the environs of Naples, in which were finer towns than in the environs of Rome, as the same Cicero informs us, *Orat. contra Rullum ad Quirites, vers. medium*; Labicos, Fidenas, &c.

within its metropolis, like the monstrous enlargement of the capitals of the principal states of Europe, was originally derived from the schemes of the farmers of the public revenues, for molesting the rustics and country gentlemen; for putting them out of conceit with a rural life; for alluring them into the centre of peace, plenty, and pleasure; and thus getting them together, under their hand, like pigeons in a cot, or fishes in a pond.

Crustis

*Excipiunt homines quos in vivaria mittant.**

Rome, under the emperors, had swallowed up Italy. After the conquest of the Turks, Constantinople absorbed Greece and part of Asia. Since the reign of Lewis XIV. Paris has been ingulphing France. Thus the capitals of most states in Europe are become the destruction of the human species, as so many abysses into which they irretrievably precipitate themselves.

After the destructive wars of Francis I. and Henry II. in the midst of the flame of civil combustions, France was in a state of population which it never could recover since the enlargement of Paris. If, of the million of inhabitants, which this city has contained for a century past, every twenty years those had been driven out whose fathers were not born there, scarce a fourth part would have remained at each muster: the surplus France has furnished, and thus has thinned itself. Every town, in proportion to its largeness, sustains the same loss; and there is not one, even of the second class, which is not a standing proof that the common duration of families in them scarce

* Hor. Ep. I. L. i.

amounts to a century, when they fail, and make room for new colonies.

The primitive Greeks, the Gauls, the Scythians, whose numerous swarms have covered and renewed the universe, lived in villages: their frequent emigrations proclaim a large excess of population, which has ceased since cities took place in the countries where those vigorous people dwelled.

*Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas ritè trahunt domos.*

From these observations we may, by way of comfort, look on Petersburg and Pekin, as the surest barriers which Europe could desire against northern emigrations.

Let us return to Naples, which, together with its environs, presents the traveller with a sight absolutely new; neither the inhabitants nor the arts being there like those in the other parts of Italy.

The people, both of city and country, are vigorous, robust, raw-boned, full of fire and sprightliness, active, indefatigably laborious, in a word, cut out for war; and thus, it is only in sobriety that they are any thing like those Italians which we had seen since our leaving Turin.

This breed of men glory in being descended from the Greeks, and resembling them: they are broad and full chested, with a short thick neck; fleshy, with a fine complexion, and a very brisk eye. They who are better acquainted with ancient and modern Greece, than I pretend to be, may from this picture decide how far the Neapolitans resemble either the ancient or the present Greeks. Their apparel will likewise furnish them with
another

another article for comparison : the Neapolitans go with the neck and shoulders, the breast and arms, almost naked ; whilst the other Italians, and especially the Lombards, are very careful to keep those parts closely covered. And here I am quite at a loss to find out on what foundation M. de Montesquieu says in his Persian Letters, that thirty or forty thousand men, of the very refuse of the Neapolitan people, live on dead, rotten, and dried fish, thrown up by the sea ; whereas all the fish this city consumes, is got by fishing.

It is certainly not a little strange, that such a people, almost ever looked upon as nothing, in the various revolutions which have so often changed its master, should never have joined in any but in that of Mazaniello (*a*). Could its indifference to political commotions be put to a stronger trial than when the unfortunate Conradin, aged only seventeen years, the last branch of a line hated and proscribed by the heads of the church, was publicly beheaded in the midst of the capital of his ancestors dominions ? There is no viewing the place, where the vestiges of this horrid scene are still shewn, without various emotions.

This indifference (*b*), however in appearance it may favour of stupidity, is the effect of instinct enlightened by experience : *Quid refert mea*, say they with the ass in the fable, *clitellas dum portem meas* ? To finish the picture of this people, it

(*a*) Machiavel, in the 55th of his Discourses on Livy, Book i. had foretold to the Neapolitans what issue they had to expect from this revolution.

(*b*) On this indifference is doubtless founded the title of *Fidelissima*, which the city of Naples every where assumes,

is sufficient only to add, that Naples, though without so much as the shadow of police, knows very little of those disorders which all the magistrate's vigilance at Paris can hardly prevent.

In this picture I do not include the substantial citizens, nor the lawyers, who are not less numerous at Naples than at Paris; nor the nobility. These classes, who are no less prudent from system, than the people from instinct, devote to idleness (c), and sacrifice to pleasure, all the advantages of a happy constitution and a fiery temperament. They are the most voluptuous of men:

*In hos tota ruens Venus
Cyprum deseruit.*

Under an appearance of giddiness, levity, and merriment, the commonalty and citizens of Naples, amidst labour and pleasure, conceal deep and well-conducted views, if not in every head, at least as a body; and as a body they form a democracy, independent of the king and the nobility, joining with the latter when their interest so requires. The lower clergy, and the majority of monks, with whom Naples swarms, never fail siding with them.

The tribe last mentioned are the populace's hereditary counsel; and to what a degree Naples is stocked with counsellors of this kind, appears from the following correct list.

17 Houses of Franciscans of all colours.

15 Of Dominicans.

(c) *In otia natam Parthenopen.*

Otiosa Neapolis.

Ovid. Metam. L. xv.

Horat. Epod. v.

- 8 Of Carmelites.
- 9 Of Camaldulans, Carthusians, and Benedictines.
- 4 Of Minims.
- 3 Of Servites.
- 9 Of Regular Canons.
- 2 Of Hieronimites and Basilians.
- 5 Of Spaniards.
- 6 Of Jesuits.
- 6 Of Theatines.
- 3 Of Regular Priests.
- 2 Of Barnabites.
- 1 Of the Oratory.
- 1 Of *Fate-Ben-Fratelli*.
- 3 Of Attendants on the Infirm.
- 3 Of *Scuole-Pie*.
- 2 Of Lucca Fathers.
- 33 Convents for Maidens.
- 33 Houses of Retirement for Women.
- 6 Hospitals for the Sick.
 - 1 For Pilgrims.
 - 4 For Orphans.
 - 1 For old Men.
 - 1 For Poor who have no shelter.

The greater part under the direction of Monks appointed for that purpose.

All these houses are rich, either by ancient endowments or daily donations ; and, as every where else, the richest of all are those of the Jesuits.

The monks, who converse with the nobility and the citizens, are very studious and artful in scenting inheritances, and leave no stone unturned to procure

cure for their houses either presents, or partial legacies, when they cannot get the whole into their hands. It is to be observed, however, that there is the same police among them as among the general lovers; when the object of their pursuit has determined for any one of such an order, the other orders never offer to intervene, unless a rupture happens.

To the success of these practices are owing those amazing riches which are displayed in the decoration of their churches; in the brilliant and very costly spectacles frequently given there; and, lastly, in the enormous quantities of plate with which their sacristies are crowded. The churches of Naples are perhaps as rich in this kind, as all the churches of Italy put together.

Every monastery has a good laboratory, which, accordingly, brings in considerably. Most of the monks practise physic; and it is the practice of these physicians that constitutes the fund for the laboratory of their house, the current expences of which arise from the families who come thither to confession.

Farther, every laboratory is known by some medicament, or conserve, which is not made so well any where else; and for these it has a sure demand, at least among strangers, and those who are not slaves either to their physician or their confessor. The Minims, for instance, whose house faces the palace, have the run for *diabolos*; a kind of anise-seed comfits for the use of old men who retain a colt's tooth. This restorative bears a most extravagant price. I am apt to think that the faculty even of Montpelier are not acquainted with
the

the receipt, having seen a canon of that city pay down five louis-d'ors only for a small quantity.

The nobility constitute a body united by common views and interests; and which, from being formerly distributed into thirty courts, consists at present only of five; the deputies of which share the municipal government with a magistrate, who represents, and is chosen by the people.

These courts are large insulated salons, and inclosed with iron grates, that every thing done there may be seen. Whether this uncommon disposition was by the nobility's choice, or directed by the sovereign, or required by the people, I know not.

Cardinal Spinelli, in 1750, experienced the power of these two so different factions, when they happened to be combined. Besides his being of one of the first families in Naples, he was a person of extraordinary parts and abilities, intimately in favour with Benedict XIV. and, as archbishop of Naples, regarded beyond any of his predecessors; so that his sovereign was beginning to admit him into his confidence. The ministers, fearing this confidence might be carried too far, laid hold of a sentence of that prelate's court, by which a priest was condemned to retract some positions which had an ill sound, and made use of it to frighten the people, as the forerunner of an inquisition, which they have never known but by name, and which they look on as the main instrument of tyranny. A schedule on this head being sent to a trusty notary, kindled a flame, which in a few days spread throughout the whole kingdom. The populace, alarmed by the dread of the *Holy Office*, as they call

call the inquisition, was continually reinforced by droves of peasants, who on the same account were flocking from all parts of the kingdom, and came to stand by their lords and patrons. All this angry multitude surrounded the palace; and the king, who, designedly, had not been advised of this commotion, coming abroad as usual, the whole square at once rang, as had been agreed on, with the cry of *No Holy Office! No Holy Office!*

His majesty ordered notice to be given to the people, that he would inquire into the matter, and do them justice. The affair being brought before an extraordinary council, held at the king's return, was referred to the *courts*, who deliberated on it with great solemnity: the people in the mean time crowded about the grate, within which the nobility were sitting; and on the rising of each court, gathering about the nobles, they coldly asked them *Metterem' in fuoco?* "Shall we set it on fire?" This cool tumult caused such a warm consternation, that the cardinal, being forsaken by the king, was obliged to quit Naples, deliver up his archbishoprick to his majesty, and withdraw to Rome, where we have seen him in the tranquil possession of honours, and these heightened by the public esteem.

The prejudice of the people against the inquisition, kept up by its fear of coming under the papal dominion, is to this state what the liberties of the Gallican church are to France. It is certainly a little surprising, that at the gates of Rome, in a state not only catholic, but a feudatory of Rome, and for a long time ruled by the catholic kings, this salutary fear has had its effect:

but

but it is still more so, that this prejudice, like the liberties of the Gallican church, should owe its establishment and permanency, not so much to the sovereigns as to the nation ; that is, to divines and civilians who have introduced and fomented it, and often in opposition to the sovereign, who sometimes, however, has found the advantage of it (*d*).

An object of this kind, still more remarkable, is the tribunal of the monarchy of Sicily. It is known, that by this tribunal the king exercises over Sicily the authority which he claims as hereditary legate of the holy see, and perpetual representative of the pope. By virtue of this authority, which rests on a very uncertain bull of Urban II. and which Leibnitz has placed at the head of his *Diplomatic Collection*, his Sicilian majesty, by himself or his delegates, tries and punishes, excommunicates and absolves, all laymen, monks, priests, abbots, bishops, archbishops, and even cardinals. His decrees, in all ecclesiastical matters, are without appeal, no more than a preventive power remaining to the court of Rome; and this it makes use of only in troublesome times. In a word, the president of the monarchical tribunal, is, in all petitions and representations, styled *Beatissimo Padre*, a title still more strange than the authority signified by it.

It is easily conceived, that the popes have not been wanting in their endeavours to procure the suppression of a *monarchy*, more odious to them

(*d*) Thus the most important discoveries in government, owe their origin, their progress, and their establishment, not to place-men, but to persons unconnected, and who, labouring only for themselves and posterity, have opposed the judgment, and often braved the persecutions, of their age.

in a catholic king, owning himself their feudatory, and in queens, to whom, of their own right, the kingdom of Sicily may devolve, than the supremacy of the kings and queens of England. The nation, often assisted, and sometimes forsaken by the sovereign, has, by its lawyers and its divines, constantly either eluded or warded off the strokes of the most enterprising or most turbulent popes (*e*), against a prerogative, which the most easy popes look upon as heretical, schismatical, and execrable.

Under these predicaments it was, that in 1715, Clement XI. abolished the tribunal of the monarchy. Victor Amedeus had been made king of Sicily at the treaty of Utrecht. It was apprehended, that this kingdom would soon slip through his fingers, and return to the house of Austria; and it might be supposed, that a temporary sovereign would not concern himself much in support of a prerogative which others were to enjoy: but the tribunal did for itself all that could have been done by a sovereign the most jealous of his authority. Amidst a continual succession of

(*e*) Paul V. made a smart attack on this privilege by the pen of cardinal Baronius, who in vol. xi. inserts a long discussion on this point. It was answered by cardinal Ascanio Colonna; and Baronius replied. As to the question of Fact, the advantage seemed on Baronius's side; but, concerning the question of Right, his arguments were the less conclusive, the far greater part of them being drawn from the pope's supremacy over the temporalities of kings; which was bringing for proof what was to be proved. This supremacy was both the sword and buckler to the same Paul V. in the quarrels which he was then engaged in against Venice, against England, against the commons of France, and likewise against Spain on account of Sicily.

bulls, briefs, rescripts, monitory letters, and mandates, it found means to draw into its quarrel some powers, whose rights were indirectly affected by it : accordingly the parliament of Paris suppressed the abolitory bull.

The affair at length was terminated under Benedict XIII. by the famous cardinal Coscia, who in confirming the title to the emperor, as king of the Two Sicilies, contrived for his court an ultimate subterfuge, by causing the bull of Transfer to be signed by two subdataries, the datary and vice-chancellor having refused to set their hands to an act, which sanctified an authority till then looked on at Rome as the *abomination of desolation in the holy place*.

The Neapolitan commonalty begin, in favour of Don Carlos, to lay aside their indifference about what sovereign they are under : not that there is, between this prince and his subjects of all ranks, any intercourse or familiarity ; never was sovereign less observant of such a behaviour than Don Carlos. All the time he spends in the palace, the queen has : in the forenoon he amuses himself with fishing, and in the afternoon he hunts : the intermediate hours are what he gives to his council. When in town, he goes through Naples four times a day, and always full gallop. Concerning this the Neapolitans say, that when Philip V. went into Spain, Lewis XIV. advised him to this impetuous pace ; and his children have retained it. These exercises are regularly continued all weathers, rain or heat ; so that the king has now a constitution which can bear any thing.

It is by the choice of his ministers, by his doing
business

business along with them, by the habit he has acquired of seeing every thing at once, and seeing it as it should be, that this prince has won the confidence and hearts of his subjects. They perceive in him the whole of what the *Protocol* of Italian policy requires in the choice of ministers, and the sovereigns employment of them.

* *La prima congettura*, says this *Protocol* †, *che si fa d'un Principe e del cervel suo è vedere gli huomini che lui a d'intorno: quando sono sufficienti e fideli, sempre si può reputarlo savio Ma come il Principe possa conoscere il Ministro, ci è questo modo che non falla mai. Quando tu vedi il Ministro pensar più a se che a te, e che in tutte le attioni vi ricerca l'utile suo, questo tal così fatto mas non sia buon ministro, né mai te ne potrai fidare D'altra parte, il Principe per mantenersi buon il buono, deve pensare à lui, honorandolo, facendolo ricco, obligandoselo, partecipandogli li honori e carichi, &c.*

Such is the king of Naples's behaviour towards his ministers; and his subjects judge of him by them.

The prince royal, presumptive heir to the crown, has reached his thirteenth year, but in a

* “ The first conjecture formed of a prince and his capacity,
 “ is from a view of the persons about him : if they are men
 “ of abilities and faithful, he may be concluded wise;
 “ and an infallible way for a prince to know a minister is, If
 “ you see he minds himself more than you, and that the
 “ drift of all his proceedings is his own advantage ; such a
 “ one will never prove a good minister ; no confidence is to
 “ be placed in him On the other hand, that a good mi-
 “ nister may continue such, the prince is to shew a regard for
 “ him, and confer honours and lucrative employments on
 “ him, &c.

† Cap. xxii.

state of imbecillity, which age, far from diminishing, increases. Every afternoon the queen comes to his apartment, embraces him, kisses him, and withdraws all in tears. Amidst all the events, which may call him to the throne, will it be conferred on this prince, notwithstanding his condition? Should this condition exclude him, what form can be given to an exclusion quite unprecedented, and which, by referring the nomination of the successor to the choice of the reigning king, or of the nation, will open a vast field for discussions and inferences?

An Italian poet said of the Neapolitans in his times,

In Napoli il dir molto e l'haver poco.

In Naples, great cry and little wool.

My stay at Naples was not long enough to be thoroughly acquainted with their manner of living, whether private or social. I only know, that there is more sleeping here than in any other country in Italy; that they consume an amazing quantity of chocolate, which every private person has made in his own house, as he likes best; that the *conversazioni*, or assemblies, are like those of other cities of Italy; that the chat in private companies is quite Grecian, that is, very free, and very merry; that gallantry is in high life as common, and with as little caution, as it is rare and close among the citizens; and that, tracing it down to the commonalty, the extremities are found to join; that, in general, continency is, at Naples, the most scarce virtue; that love, which elsewhere is often no more than affectation and fantasticalness,

ness, is there one of the most stimulating wants ; in a word, that Mount Vesuvius, which overlooks this city, is the nearest emblem under which it can be represented in this respect.

Other necessities, which the police and some remains of shame restrain in other parts, especially in cities, are at Naples above all the controul of laws. The sulphur, with which their vegetables and food are impregnated ; the continual use of chocolate, of the strongest liquors, and of the most inflammative drugs, occasion eruptions and explosions, which will not bear either delay or circumspection : the court-yards of palaces and hôtels, the porches of private houses, the stairs and landing-places, are so many receptacles for the necessities of all passengers. Persons shall often throw themselves out of their coach, and mingle among the foot people ; every one taking, within the walls of others, that liberty which he allows within his own :

Veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.

From this general liberty, and the little care taken by an owner or tenant about the cleanliness of his hôtel, his house or landing-place, you may think what filthiness and infection there must be in a city, which is reckoned to contain between five and six hundred thousand souls.

I have said, that at Naples men and arts are not the men and arts of the other parts of Italy. As to the men, I believe I have made my assertion good : as to arts, I shall now, if not prove it, at least point out wherein they differ, with appeal, however, to connoisseurs.

The architecture of both sacred and civil, public and private edifices, is no longer the architecture of Rome. It is every where crowded with bosses and prominences of a gigantic proportion, and a heaviness, which strikes the eye the more disagreeably, as all these jetties are either of a brown stone, like the body of the buildings; or, in those where they are only stucco, besmeared over with a coarse dirty brown colour in imitation of the stone. All the gates and doors, besides their enormous height, are loaded with balconies supported by brackets larger than what they bear, or suspended as by a miracle: so unsightly are all the particulars of their construction.

The outside of most of the churches, even the most stately and splendid, is, as all over Italy, only a bare wall, standing, as it were, in expectation of a portal; and these *expecting* walls are an eternal pretence for begging in behalf of the poor church, as wanting a necessary decoration: in a word, these churches will always be in want of a portal, for the same reasons that the church of saint Sulpice at Paris has already been forty years a building.

As to the inside of these churches, it is rather rich and glaring than fine; the decorations and distribution every where uniform, being two crosses intersected at the junction by a cupola. Seeing one is seeing all.

The finest marbles and paintings are crowded in those churches; and where these are replaced or divided by gilding, it is with a profuseness which tires the eye without entertaining it. Such was the new decoration of the old church of the nuns of St. Clare, which I saw finished during my stay at
Naples.

Naples. In order to find a ground for the gilding, which was by no means to be omitted, part of the church was incumbered with pieces of lattice-work, in the form of a lozenge, originally an Arabian invention; and these lattices, with their lozenges, besides the heaviness of their relieve, were charged with most dazzling and laboured gildings: a decoration suitable to the times of king Robert, from which this edifice dates its erection.

Not that architects have wanted opportunities of displaying their talents in a city, which has above three hundred churches, including chapels belonging to brotherhoods, associations, and congregations, which, as at Rome, are in higher esteem and more frequented than the parish churches, the number of which is thirty.

The fountains in several parts of the city, and even those in the spacious square before the harbour, bear the marks of this bad taste, contrary to the intention of those, at whose expence they were made; but which is seen only in the choice of the marbles.

It is the same with the plate of all kinds in the churches. It is all in *laminæ*, and mirrors executed with the most exquisite attention, from designs where real beauty is sacrificed to show.

But no where does the Neapolitan taste (*f*) shine with so much lustre as in the pyramids, or obelisks, erected in squares fronting the principal churches. In the monstrous expence of them, in the uncouth

(*f*) The authors of the Descriptions of Naples, to praise a piece well executed in their taste, say, *Cosa stravagante lavorata*.

affemblage of the various marbles, they exceed all the enormities of Gothic rudeness. Such an obelisk was finishing before the great church of the Jesuits, and only from money raised by a father of the house, universally known at Naples, for selling to the country people little prayers, making them believe that the bits of paper, on which these prayers were printed, when swallowed by hens had a wonderful virtue for increasing their fecundity. This new obelisk is more crowded with decorations, and more glaringly set off, than all the ancient: it is the very triumph of bad taste. Round these monuments is celebrated the festival of the saints to which they are consecrated, and this for several nights, with illuminations, serenades, and fire-works; all the people of Naples flocking to those nocturnal exhibitions.

The new castle, begun by Charles of Anjou, is one of the oldest buildings in Naples. The main gate, which is confined, and as it were buried between two enormous bastions, was a marble triumphal arch, erected in 1494, to celebrate king Alphonso of Arragon's entry into Naples. It is covered with trophies and basso-relievos, of such workmanship that the Lombards and Florentines contest the honour of it: it is one of the finest things in Naples, and at the same time, the most disadvantageously placed. A bastion in this castle which faces the harbour, was built in the last century, by a Spanish viceroy, with the monies arising from a tax levied on prostitutes for that very purpose; and the stone-cutters, that posterity might know how much the state owed to that class of females, chiseled out an oblong oval on the facing

facing of every stone in the front of this bastion, which is likewise of a great height.

The king's palace, built by the Spanish viceroy from a plan of the celebrated Fontana, distinguishes itself from the generality of the Neapolitan structures. It would be admired even at Rome. Opposite to this palace, one of these viceroy's had a marble Colossus made, to which has been fitted a colossal head of Jupiter, found in the ruins of Puzzolo : the fore part of this statue is covered with an eagle's skin, on which is a very prolix inscription, in honour of the viceroy to which Naples is obliged for this decoration, when in reality it is a mere fright. Another of the same kind, is a colossal virgin in the Carthusian monastery, near the prior's apartment. If, as said, it be the work of the famous Bernini, I am inclined to think he did not ground his reputation on it.

This Carthusian monastery lies at the foot of the castle St. Elmo. Under it one sees the finest part of Naples. There are few religious houses in Italy so well endowed, so delightfully situated, and so rich in masterly paintings of all the schools. Foreigners are generally well received there. We spent a whole day at this place, and had a dinner of excellent sea-fish, which we paid for as at a tavern ; neither the prior, nor any of the officers of the house, having honoured us with their presence. In the part of this house which projects most over the city, is a belvedere, where, to our very great amazement, we partly heard all that was said in the squares and streets : not indeed any connected tale, but a clatter of very distinct words ; which brought to my mind Rabelais's island, where
the

the words freeze, and on a thaw make a like clatter.

I shall take my leave of the Neapolitan architecture with a word about the houses. They are built of a kind of very light sand-stone, to the height of seven or eight stories, and all terminate in a platform without roof or covering; a construction so far from giving them the appearance of the Louvre, the Palais-Bourbon, or the Paris observatory, that it makes them look like houses, the top of which had been consumed by fire; and the more, as the upper part of these houses is blackened by the smoke and the vapours of the air, more than the middle parts. This construction, however, does not so much arise from the climate, it raining here as much as in other parts; but from the conveniency of the puzzolana, of which the neighbourhood affords plenty. It is composed of metallic particles, and minute sharp crystals, and, when mixed with the calx of marble or shells, it makes a mortar, which water rather consolidates than weakens. It is even necessary, on laying it over a platform, to keep it under water for some days, that it may be proof against the sun, which otherwise would soon reduce it to dust. Had this sand been made use of, instead of cement, for binding the flints with which the platform of the Paris observatory is paved, that magnificent monument of Lewis the XIVth's reign would, very probably, have lasted above a century, in the same condition as it came out of Mr. Perrault's hands.

Naples has been infinitely more happy in painters than in architects. Besides, being a colony of the Bologna school, by the works with which

Lan-

Lanfranc, Dominichini, Guido, &c. have enriched it, it has itself produced artists, who, in many respects, would have done honour to their metropolis, had not the national taste for brilliancy and the *stravagante* led them out of the circle, to which the Caracci had limited their art.

Agreeably to the method I laid down to myself, and which I have hitherto observed, I shall only take notice of some of those paintings, with which, amidst the multitude of master-pieces to be seen in Naples, I was most taken.

In the van of these I shall place the Twelve Prophets, by Espagnoletto, in the curves of the arches along the nave of the Carthusian church. The want of room in the several spaces obliged the painter to represent them as half reclined ; but this necessity he has improved into a variety of attitudes, and each corresponding with the character of the prophet. They are all melancholy, thoughtful, extasied old men. Here was a fresh difficulty to overcome ; and so ingeniously has this been done, that they shew the same difference of countenance, air, and disposition, as of attitude ; a difference allusive to the genius of their respective writings. Never have sublime souls been expressed with such force and truth. The admirable artist has surpassed himself in the colouring, which has, and still retains, all the energy such subjects require. To conclude this account, I own, and doubtless to my shame, that with nothing, even in the very Vatican, was I so much taken as with these prophets.

To these may be joined a Saint Francis by Guido, in the house of the fathers of the Oratory,
together

together with a picture by the same hand, representing Jesus Christ and St. John naked, in the bloom of youth.

The second age of the Neapolitan school is filled up by Luca Giordano. From this painter alone we have as many good pieces in all kinds, as some schools have produced : *Solus academiam facit*. The only Neapolitan rival, who came any thing near him, was Massimo. The legislators in painting charge him with incorrectness, improper freedoms, and other faults ; and bringing in with him Solimene, and the masters of the third age, they say to them, *Vos primi picturam perdidistis*. I shall only mention one piece of his, a Virgin del Rosario in the church of the Dominicans near the palace, and into which I followed a *novena* which was celebrating by a band of the finest hands in music that Naples afforded : but I was more taken up with this painting than all the music. Giordano has there represented the virgin amidst angels carrying her in triumph under a canopy which projects from the canvas, and indeed seems detached from it. Saint Dominic and a Jacobine nun attend on her. The persons, the canopy, the valences of it, seem as waving in the air ; every thing is in motion. Such indeed are most of this great master's works. So vivid, so varied are his colourings, that every thing lives and acts : so that the freedoms which Giordano has allowed himself, in order to affect so powerfully, are easily excused : *dulcibus abundat vitiis*.

In a church, near the *Seggia* joining to the great square, I saw a picture of Solimene's, of which I shall take notice, not so much for the beauty of the

the execution, as the oddity of the subject. It represents Jesus Christ and St. Francis. Jesus Christ opens his breast, where, on his heart, as in a looking-glass, is seen St. Francis : St. Francis returns the compliment to Jesus Christ, the portrait of whom is seen on the saint's heart. Italy is full of such extravagant representations, often executed by the greatest masters, in little pictures bespoke by enthusiastic beldams. I know one by Dominichini, a foot and a half to six inches, on brass, of St. Catherine of Sienna. Two youthful angels support her ; and Jesus Christ, in the habit of a Jacobine nun, standing on a thin cloud, draws her heart out of her breast, through his monachal habit. The ground of this painting is a most delightful landscape. Dominichini never did anything finer in little. The heads are all most exquisitely finished, and speak the admirable hand from whence they came. All the several particulars are in the most precise truth. As to the colouring, never did any more soft and mellow come from Dominichini's pencil. What a pity that such perfections should be wasted on such a subject !

In paintings, Naples offers a vast field to the lamentations of the artists and *dilettanti*. All the world has heard of the great and valuable collections made in this kind by the house of Farnese, which, during half the finest age Italy ever saw, had reigned over arts, sciences, and talents, as sovereigns, and as intelligent sovereigns. The princes of that house were no less careful of those riches, than of their sovereignty itself ; and their palaces at Parma and Placentia were full of them.

The last of these princes dying lately without
issue,

issue, his dominions have successively devolved to Don Carlos and Don Philip, in right of their mother, the queen of Spain, Elizabeth Farnese, the last of that illustrious name. Conformably to the treaty of Vienna, Don Carlos, in 1739, delivered them up to Don Philip, but, by a custom in law, reserved to himself the moveables. Of these the most valuable part were the collections of paintings, medals, books, &c. The whole was packed up in a hurry, and sent away to Naples, where the king's palaces, being already full, could not receive those inestimable collections. This prince was then building, at Capo di Monte, (a delicious eminence, commanding part of Naples, its harbour, and its two bays) a most stately palace, from a plan of Van-Vitelli, a Roman architect. This palace was intended to be furnished with the Parma moveables; and till they could be properly distributed, the cases of books and paintings were heaped together in the ground-floor apartments, these being finished. When the palace came to be nearly completed, it was perceived that it would want water, and no hydraulic invention could supply it, though all the fountains, of which there are so many in that delightful spot, have plenty; and though Toscanella, which overlooks it, is famous for an inexhaustible well of very fine water. On this pretence, or for some reasons hidden under it, the palace of Capo di Monte was given over.

*Ferramenta casertam
Gesserunt fabri.**

* Hor. Ep. I. L. i.

This

This new palace now became the great object of attention, and the cases of books and paintings remained where they had been thrown when brought from Parma. The paintings had been lately unpacked when we saw them at Capo di Monte ; in which interval they suffered extremely, and there was no appearance of any happier fate ; for, being thrown confusedly into uninhabited apartments, exposed to the moisture and the injuries of the air, in a ruinous palace, nothing can save them from a destruction to which, for these twenty years past, so many causes concur. The library we may conclude to be irretrievable. I was told, that it is still lying in the bales as it came from Parma.

Naples affords few antiquities. Nothing is known of the situation of Paleopolis and Neapolis, between which, according to Livy, the consul Publius posted himself in his campaign against Hannibal. Of the ancient monuments at Naples the most intire, and unquestionably the most curious, is Virgil's tomb.

This monument, which in Miffon and father Montfaucon is represented as a pyramid almost ruined, is a lantern or turret, about twenty feet high, on open arcades, the solid parts of which were formerly adorned with pillars. This structure stands on a platform cut in the eastern side of the hill of Pausilipo, in sight of the two bays of Naples, the harbour, the castles, part of the city lengthwise, and fronting Mount Vesuvius. Unquestionably it was in order to make it so conspicuous, that its elevation so much exceeds the proportion of its base. It commands the entrance of the famous
grotto

grotto at Paufilipo; and by the excavations daily carrying on in this part of the mountain, commands it so, that at present it is scarce two feet from the brink of a precipice a hundred and eighty feet deep; and if these excavations be continued, they must certainly undermine this venerable monument.

On the external surface of the cupola in which it terminates, is a prodigy much celebrated by the Neapolitan poets: I mean its being exactly crowned with a laurel, though the tree's only nourishment must be what its roots meet with in the joining of the stones. All travellers are sure to have a pluck at this tree, which they do by means of a rope with a stone at the end of it. Farther, the side of the mountain where the tomb stands, instead of any trees of this kind, is covered with yews and firs. Virgil's laurel however recruits its daily losses, and perpetuates itself with renovating vigour. In the sixteenth century there was only one stem, which stood in the centre of the cupola, where we will suppose it to have been planted by some Neapolitan, a warm admirer of Virgil. About the beginning of the last century, a fir, blown by the wind from a collateral part of the mountain, fell with its top on the stem, thus choaking it; but nature itself repaired the accident, setting as layers the compressed ramifications of the root, which now have spread over the cupola's whole surface.

The learned Cluvier*, on explaining some verses of Statius with geographical strictness, has ad-

* Ital. Antiq.

vanced, that the monument in question is not Virgil's tomb, and that this should be sought for east of Naples, near Vesuvius (an opinion, in which Mr. Addison joins); but Statius† meant only to indicate Naples by Virgil's Tomb, and by Mount Vesuvius, opposite to which it stands, and which makes the direct point of view to it.

*Maronei sedens in margine templi,
Sumo animum ac magni tumulis acanto Magistri . . .
. Fraëtas ubi Vesbius egerit undas.*

Farther, Donatus, in his Life of Virgil, formally says, that his bones were carried to Naples, and by Augustus's order, *sepulta fuere in via Puteolanâ, intrâ lapidem secundum.*

As to the den or cavern, which, running through Paufilipo to the extent of half a mile; brings the shore of Chiaïa to a level with that of Puzzolo, the uncertainty of the monuments and writers on the date of this great undertaking, seems to warrant me in referring it, together with the catacombs under the mountains east of Naples, to those ages which have left amazing specimens of such works (g) in Magna Græcia, Sicily, Phœnicia, and most of the Mediterranean islands. [See *Observations on the CLOACÆ in the article of ROME*]. Farther, the grotto or cave
of

† Syl. iv.

(g) Varro, *de Re Rust.* L. iii. c. 17, seems to attribute it to Lucullus; Strabo, L. v. to one Cocceius, but at the same time speaks with high commendations of the first Grecian colonies for works of this kind. John Villani, Chron. L. i. c. 30, says that Virgil opened this cavern with the stroke of a magic wand. Lastly, Benjamin de Tudella,

of Paufilipo is drawn in an exact right line. Towards the end of October, placing myself at its eastern aperture, I saw the sun filled its western aperture for the space of two minutes ; the grotto in the mean time forming, in its whole length, a tube of light : and by this phænomenon astronomers may readily determine the grotto's projection.

To avoid repetitions, I shall say nothing of Cuma, Puzzolo, or even of Herculæanum itself. Among the ruins of this city I ventured into a defile newly opened, and carried pretty far. I led the way to several, and each with a lighted candle. In the part where the excavation was freshest, I perceived the ashes, which constitute the whole ground hereabouts, loosening from the upper part of the gut, drop on my head, and run down along the walls like corn through a hopper : this alarmed me ; and I communicating my apprehensions to the company, we all, without any long deliberation, made off faster than we had come in. In this gut we saw a mosaic floor, and the walls of a house through which the search was carried in a breadth of about four feet : a wall which it skirted was built of turf or pumice stone, with coins of brick, from whence

Itin. Hierosol. gives the honour of it to Romulus, “ by way,” says he, “ of providing a shelter against the invasion with which he was threatened by David’s army under Joab.” After all, this grotto is only child’s-play, if compared to the catacombs : there is no conceiving their immensity without seeing them. These countries being at that time covered with inhabitants, and for that very reason having very few woods, the want of stones for building was the first motive for those excavations ; of which, afterwards, a farther public advantage was taken, by making, as the proverb says, a ditch of the earth. I must add, that the position of the catacombs seems to point out that of Paleopolis, which, according to Diodorus Siculus, was founded by Hercules.

projected, to about two thirds of their diameter; columns of the same substance; the whole covered over with a strong lay of puzzolana whitewashed with lime; so that Herculaneum was built as Naples is at present.

The discoveries made by these searches are owing to chance; the laxity of the ground not admitting them to be extended throughout all the parts of the subterraneous city. The dangers consequential to such a laxity are easily conceived, amidst frequent disruptions which there is no preventing. Notwithstanding these obstacles, every day affords riches; the value of which they who have not seen Portici will not be able to judge of, till the engravers employed by the king of Naples, after finishing the paintings, will exercise themselves on the sculptures. The latter are what will especially shew the grandeur and the magnificence of the ancients, and their taste for the fine arts. Considering the known effects of air on paintings after being buried sixteen hundred years, it was prudently determined to begin the description of the monuments of Herculaneum with these paintings. On the recommendation of count Gazzola, master of the ordnance, and the marquis of Fraggiani, president of the tribunal of the monarchy, his Sicilian majesty was pleased to make me a present of this most valuable collection.

The principal pieces of sculpture taken out of the ruins of Herculaneum are already pretty well known by the several accounts which have been published of them; but I cannot omit a Mercury, which I saw in one of the guts. This statue, which is of bronze, and as big as life, represents

the messenger of the gods just alighted from a long journey, and taking off his talaries. Extreme fatigue is expressed in his attitude, and every part of his body, which is without any covering: it is seen even in his flagging eyebrows, the frontal muscles not being able to keep them up. Concerning beauties of this kind Pliny the younger used to say, *De illis judico quantum ego sapio, qui fortassis in omni re, in hac certe perquam exiguum sapio**. Applying to myself what Pliny said of himself, I shall, with the public, wait the description of Herculaneum: it will furnish me with the reasons of my admiration of many pieces, which every body may admire, but which artists alone can describe.

From the same motives I shall give only the bare history of the late discovery of the remains of the ancient Pœstum. This city, built, according to Solinus, by the ancient Dorians, and, according to Strabo, by the Sybarites, stood at the end of a small bay, now part of that of Salerno, at a league eastward from the mouth of the river Silo or Silaro; a situation, on account of which the Greeks afterwards gave it the name of *Pesidonia*. It was famous in the Roman times for its roses; Virgil, Ovid, and Propertius, having taken notice of them. Its edifices, which proclaim the magnificence of its first founders, were unquestionably cotemporary with a famous temple dedicated to Juno Argiva, which Strabo places at the very mouth of the Silo, and makes Jason its founder. The causes of the depopulation and extinction of Magna Græcia reached this city; so that, for several centuries, its

* Severo, L. iii.

walls and territory were become a waste, known neither to mariners, nor the inhabitants of the neighbouring country.

About the year 1755, a disciple of a painter at Naples being in holiday time at Capaccio, the place of his birth, as he was walking, a fancy took him to go upon the rising grounds which border on the ancient territory of Pœstum. The only dwelling which he could perceive there, was a thatched farm-house : the best parts of the ground the farmer cultivated ; the others he reserved for his cattle to feed in, and the ruins of the ancient city were a part of the latter. The young painter, on the heights from whence they were perceivable, had been struck with the sight, and on going up was amazed to see ramparts and gates still partly subsisting ; streets, the direction of which was visible ; public buildings and temples. All those edifices, unquestionably built by the Dorians, the founders of Pœstum, spoke the most remote antiquity, both in the resemblance of their construction, and proportions, with those remains of ancient Egyptian architecture still to be seen in Upper Egypt.

The artist, on his return to Capaccio, inquired of his neighbours about those monuments, and was informed, that this country had from time immemorial been a desert ; that about ten or twelve years ago the farmer, whose dwelling he had seen, took it into his head to remove thither ; and that, searching the ruins about his dwelling, he had found some things which had turned to so good account, as to put him into a condition of renting that wild and uninhabited spot. The young disciple hastened away to Naples, to communicate this discovery

to his master. The rapture with which he spoke of it, so excited the painter's curiosity, that he repaired thither, and found a gratification the more ample and exquisite, as his eyes were conversant with such objects. Pœstum now rose from its long obscurity. The curious flocked thither; the most inviting representations were made of its ruins; the count de Gazzola, having plans and elevations taken of them in his presence, employed the best artists in Naples in engraving them at his own house; and, in a word, at his request the king himself came in person to see these ruins, and appointed them for the rendezvous of a great hunt.

I shall mention Vesuvius, only in commemoration of the exquisiteness of the grapes which, growing among the ravages of its eruptions, yield the wine known by the name of *Lacryma Christi*. And here let me gratefully remember the generous courtesy of an old man, to whom we owed the regale: he lived half way up the hill, in a cavern formed by irregular congestions of *lava*. In going up towards him without seeing him, we were eating the grapes with all the appetency which heat and fatigue can excite for a very palatable refreshment. His sudden appearance had suspended our voracity, till he said to us with an aspect which confirmed the kindness of his words, *Mangiate, fôli, mangiate*: "Eat, children, eat." We imagined that the expectation of the *buona mancia* was at the bottom of this courtesy, and accordingly behaved like persons accustomed to such mercenary civilities; but, to our no small surprise, the good old man would hear of no such thing;

thing; and it was only at our repeated instances that he accepted of a carlin, which he said he would keep very charily, as a token of the happiness he had to serve Frenchmen.

A taste for the higher sciences has got footing at Naples. We were present at a private exercise, where the prince de La Rocella's eldest son, who was scarce entered into his fifteenth year, explained Newton's Trajectories with the profoundness of a great geometrician, the perspicuity and ease of a man of wit, and all the gracefulness and vivacity of his age.

Another prince has made great advancements in chemistry and discoveries analogous to that science; particularly, he gives to white marble a fixed tincture of any colour whatever, and penetrating through the whole mass however large. We saw a cardinal's hat of this kind; and near it was a rough piece of equal bulk, which had gone through the like operation: it was broken before our eyes, and the whole inside was of as fine a red as the superficies. Something still more wonderful is a cube, likewise of white marble, with its surface two feet square every way: on one is painted a virgin, and all the *lamine* which are sawed away from the cube, shew the like image. It is this prince of San-Severo who has recovered the ancient secret of inextinguishable lamps. We saw one burning in a vault hermetically shut; and we were assured it had been there eighteen months, without any supply to the substance which feeds its light. This lamp illuminates the vault of a chapel in which lie the prince's ancestors; and the scope of all his chemical discoveries is to

increase the ornaments of this chapel, which already is but too full of them. Among those which he intends to add, we saw, in his palace, a white marble statue, as big as life, representing Man in the bands of Sin. These bands are a large net inclosing the figure, which is struggling in it. This net, with its numberless meshes and knots, was made out of the same block; an immense labour, which might have been much better employed. After all, it is a mere Gothic piece, and the more such, as the figure is nothing near so fine as it might, had not the net ingrossed all the artist's attention. This odd piece, at Rome would scarcely be looked on; but Naples reckons it among its wonders.

I shall not repeat, what is known to all the world, that Naples is the centre of the best music in Italy, and the *non plus ultra* in execution. It is to all Italy, in music, what Athens was to Greece in eloquence and philosophy; but its music, like the other arts, favours a little of the national fondness for the *capriccioso* and the *stravagante*.

The emulation of musicians at Naples shows itself most distinguishably at the opera, which is the most splendid, the most grand and magnificent dramatic exhibition in Italy, and, it may be supposed, in all Europe.

The theatre is of an astonishing spaciousness, having six rows of boxes, each of which, like a room, is furnished with tables, pier-glasses, tapestry, canopies, branches, &c. the king's is a salon fronting the stage, and of such a size as very conveniently to hold the royal family and part of the court: the orchestra has room for two hundred persons:

persons: the pit is full of fixed benches, like those of our amphitheatres, which are not used in Italy: the decorations, instead of being like screens, represent some public place, the inside of a temple, or of a palace; the whole in three large pieces, two along the sides, and one filling up the end of the stage, and in which painters display all the magic of perspective.

The exhibition is variegated by marches, battles, triumphs, all in the most grand execution: battles are fought between numerous bodies of fencing-masters in rich uniforms, and who appear to be really fighting, the clashing of their weapons keeping time with the orchestra: these battles are not without their cavalry, and mounted on horses from the king's stables, or those of the first nobility. In triumphs the car is drawn by the king's finest horses, caparisoned at the expence of the undertakers. The intervals between the acts are filled up with ballets in no wise relating to the play, and the more out of the way by being executed on French airs, as fitter for this purpose than the Italian, by reason of their quicker measure.

The theatrical undertakers are a society of creditable persons of all ranks, who, with the approbation of the court, are renewed annually. The piece for the year is sold in print; and at the beginning of it are the names of the poet, the musician, the actors, the principal symphonists, the decorator, and even the taylor.

The opera for 1758 was Metastasio's *Demophoön*, set to music for that year by the celebrated Sallone; for operas in Italy are like the motets in France, musicians composing, by way of emulation, from
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the same words. It was the opinion of all Naples, that all the former musical compositions on Demophoön fell short of Saffone's. This play is known, both in its subject and business, to be very near a-kin to the French *Agnes de Castro*. The *duetto* closing the second act, with other pieces of that kind, was generally applauded; but at the arietta *Misero Pargoletto*, in which Timante speaks to his son, whom he holds in his arms, there was not a dry eye in the house: the whole expression of this *arietta* was that of nature: the very French who were present overlooked the awkward phyz of the Soprano, who acted Timante, and the disagreement of his voice with the enormity of his stature, of his arms and his legs, and wept as cordially as the Neapolitans themselves. At the operas in Italy, clapping an *arietta* is a signal for an *encore*. The orchestra then returns to the prelude, and the *castrato* walks about in a circle, and sings the favourite *arietta* the second time. This is sometimes repeated even to the fifth or sixth time; and in these repetitions it is, that the singer exerts every resource of nature and art, to surpass himself in each repetition, by the variety of gradations which he introduces into the trills, modulations, and whatever belongs to the expression. Slight and quick as some of these gradations may be, not one of them escapes an Italian ear: they perceive them, they feel them, they relish them with a delight, which in Italy is called the *foretaste of the joys of Paradise*, where, we may hope, there will be others equivalent, for those nations whose organs are less sensible to the powers of harmony.

The

The opera at Naples acts from St. Charles's day to Lent, and three times a week : the other parts of the year are left to the comic opera, and a play not like that of the other parts of Italy, which is also acted by Italian players in foreign countries. Most of the arguments of the Neapolitan drama are a mixture of tragi-comedy, like those of Lopez de Vega, and Spanish play-wrights; a manner which, like many of the other customs and modes, is a relique of the long dominion of the Spaniards at Naples. The principal characters in these compositions are kings and queens, princes and princeesses : the droll parts are a *Dianina*, *Polichinello*, and *Don Fastidio de Fastidii*.

All the intrigues are carried on by *Dianina*: she who acted that part during my stay at Naples, was a handsome young woman about seventeen, danced and sang very prettily, and had all the cunning, readiness of wit, and sprightliness of a chamber-maid.

Polichinello is a Calabrian peasant, become a footman in the decline of life, but still retaining all his former bluntness and stupidity. Instead of a hat, he has an old cap, like that of a charity-boy; and a bag, with an opening at the bottom, serves him for a cloak, which is tied about the waist with a cord: his stockings are sack-cloth guetres, with large wooden shoes: his speech consists of a jargon of the Neapolitan and Calabrian; and this coarse idiom, the vehicle of all the obscenity belonging to his part, makes Naples laugh more in one evening, than all the rest of Italy in a whole twelvemonth. Foreigners, who cannot join in the laugh, are easily known by their seriousness. The first time I was at this play,

I hap-

I happened to be among six, who gravely kept their countenance. I took the liberty of asking them how they could sit so composed; and I had for answer, that it was their misfortune to be, some Tuscans, others Romans and Venetians.

Don Fastidio de Fastidii was admirably acted by a man with spindle shanks, tun belly, long scraggy neck, large mouth, lantern jaws, and a nose of an enormous length: being in a Spanish dress, he has on a black wig, with the two short ties continually flapping his ears before and behind, and thus filling up the void which his bare neck leaves between his broad shoulders and his head. A more drole masque certainly was never contrived. All great concerns are conducted by this personage, who, abounding in solemn sentences, turgid phrases, and pompous words, always opens his opinion with a *Con-cio-sia-cosa-che*, and a prolix period of four clauses, but which he never finishes, either being impertinently interrupted by *Polichinello*, or bewildering himself in the ideas by the connexion of which his period is to be formed. When out, he continues chewing high, with increased gravity. He is generally counsellor of state, husband and father, and gets frequent drubbings; he is a cuckold on record; his precious daughter proves with child, and is run away with; yet all these disagreeable accidents do not abate his self-conceit, his confidence in his sagacity, and his inexhaustible loquacity.

The Neapolitan actors, like those of most of the cities in Italy, do not make a living by the stage; they are either artificers or tradesmen. *Don Fastidio* was a creditable goldsmith: I have
seen

seen him at work in his shop, as if he had never trod the stage. *Dianina* was to have been married to a jeweller in the beginning of November. The houses being open only at certain times in the year, the stage is but a temporary station, which would not maintain idlers who should wholly give themselves to it. The public morality is a gainer by this disposition, and the theatre is no loser, all who appear on it acting for themselves no less than for the public. Our Neapolitan players used to perform their rehearsals in a small theatre, near the new-castle square, called *il Teatro della Cava*: it was indeed in a real vault, very damp, and offensive to the smell. The price of the boxes was about ten sous French money. These rehearsals were crowded by the commonalty, who thus saw a play for two or three sous; and by such foreigners, who were for seeing both the people and the actors in a half undress; they themselves laughing at the jokes arising from the occasion, or which incidents suggested.

I have already observed, that, in all the theatres of Italy, the parts of men, and especially of gallants, are acted by women; whereas at Rome, according to the custom of the ancient Romans, all the female parts are performed by men; which is called *far da Donna*.

From what I have already said of the richness of the churches at Naples in plate, in paintings, and in decorations shewing more ostentation than taste, it may have been concluded that Naples, even relatively to religion, affects singularity. No where are festivals attended with such pomp and bustle. The most brilliant part of these festivals

vals is the octaves. The eight days following the festival of the patron saint of every church, whether regular or secular, are a continual solemnity, at which the finest voices and best hands attend, both morning and evening. Such is the number of churches within Naples, that the octaves make the whole year one continued entertainment for the devout, the lovers of music, and likewise for the musicians, being the main source of their subsistence.

The feast of Corpus Christi eclipses these hebdomadary solemnities: at that season, the richest churches ingross the whole opera, its voices, instruments, machines, decorations, and illuminations; and the octave of this feast not sufficing for the number of exhibitions, and the curiosity of the people, it is prolonged, so that one exhibition is not a disadvantage to another. I saw, in the Jesuits great college, the store-house of the machines which they set up in their church on this festival: few opera-houses can shew the like. To give me an idea of this spectacle, I was told that the *Santissimo*, being carried up on clouds almost to the roof of the church, descends of itself for the benediction, making its way through the clouds, which separate, and receiving in its passage the veneration of angels and other beings, part of whom leave their station to attend on it. What can the Greeks think at the sight of spectacles like these; they, who have no better way of keeping the Eucharist than in a leathern purse hung up against the wall in the sacristy of their churches?

The news-papers mention no other liquefaction than that of the blood of St. Januarius: but this
miracle

miracle is common at Naples; it is repeated there at several times, and in several churches, on St. Stephen's blood, on St. Pantaleon's, St. Patrizia's, St. Vitus's, St. John the Baptist's; and likewise on some milk of the Virgin Mary's, of which the Minims have two phials liquefying every Lady-day (*b*). Mr. Addison in his Travels through Italy, and afterwards Mr. Voltaire in his Universal History, apply to these liquefactions the passage of the fifth Satire of Horace, book i. where the poet relates a miracle of the same kind, shewn him in the same country :

Ignatia limphis

Iratis extructa dedit risusque jocosque,

Dum flamma sine thura liquefcere limine sacro

Persuadere cupit.

The Neapolitans, and the Italians in general, who have had any education, are in Horace's way of thinking, but without allowing themselves his way of talking : their behaviour and conversation on any thing relative to belief, even the most popular, are regulated by the danger, in Italy, of being reckoned a misbeliever, and the little inconveniency they find in appearing too credulous.

The same Mr. Addison, above quoted, saw the harbour of Naples in Virgil's beautiful description of that of Carthage :

Est in secessu longo locus, insula portum

*Efficit objectu laterum, &c.**

(*b*) Concerning these miracles, see the Jesuit Pietra Santa's *Thaumasia*.

• *Æneid. Lib. i.*

The

The resemblance is indeed striking. Virgil, in this description, might have in his eye the two bays of Naples: in a word, the *Sylvæ, decora alta, coruscæ*, give a natural representation of the site of the poet's tomb; but Macrobius will have this description to be merely an imitation of that which Homer,* in the thirteenth book of the *Odyssæ*, has drawn of the harbour of Ithaca. Both descriptions indeed offer the same objects; some more particularised in Virgil; others, such as the famous Grotto of the Nymphs, more clearly delineated in Homer.

The air of Naples, the bad fare at our inn, and the wine which we were in some measure obliged to fight for, (though at Naples the very best is sold at a low rate) affected my health. The air and aliments, which in the Neapolitans caused the explosions and eruptions taken notice of above, operating on me only by halves, had the effect of a medicament, which, its action being concentrated, would torment a patient instead of relieving him. The captain of an English privateer very obligingly told us, we should be extremely welcome to a passage over to Sicily; but a conveniency unexpectedly offering, I returned to Rome, and even without taking leave of the count di Gazzola, who, on hearing of my departure, commended my prudence; adding, that, of twenty foreigners, who in spite of the intimations of nature would continue at Naples, six or seven generally lost their lives. Two of the French abbots, who had come to Rome on account of the conclave, lay danger-

* Saturn. L. v. c. 3.

ously ill at Naples; and, however alluring this city is to a foreigner, the dangers of making any stay here may well make him say, *Tanti penitere non emo.*

It remains to be observed concerning Naples, 1. That princes are as common there as marquises at Paris; that the nobility's luxury lies chiefly in equipages, coaches and four or six being much more common at Naples than at Paris; that the mules, or horses, are the very finest which can be got; that the length of the traces is one of the chief marks of grandeur and distinction; lastly, that the lackeys are very handsome well-made fellows, in rich liveries, trailing swords of an enormous length; whereas the master's, which is more like a poniard, is carried by the first lackey at a button-hole.

2. That the kingdom of Naples is still governed by laws which the Normans introduced in the eleventh century. These laws are to the common law of Italy, what the custom of Normandy is to the common law of France: it is the ancient feudal law in all its purity, or rather in all its rigour, with regard to younger brothers and daughters, in successions and all disposals of possessions. This law being equally common to Normandy and the kingdom of Naples, is so unexceptionable a monument of the Norman conquest, that the principal articles of the *consuetudines Neapolitanæ*, and of the Norman custom, are explained by one another, in the Neapolitan and Norman Commentaries; and Banage is as well known and as much consulted at Naples, as *Matthæus de Afflictis* at Rouen.

This resemblance, this affinity, this family-look, still discernible between the laws of the conquerors and those of a country conquered seven hundred years ago, seem to me a proof that, at the time of the conquest, these laws and customs, commonly thought to proceed from caprice, ignorance, and barbarism, were founded on rational and fixed principles; and, though not digested into books, were safely preserved in the memory of those whose welfare depended on the preservation of them; and this the more easily, the articles being but few. Such was the Roman law itself in its origin, and such the Twelve Tables of which Cicero * has said, *Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod sentio, Bibliothecas mehercule omnium philosophorum omnes, mihi videtur XII. Tab. Libellus, si quis legum fontes & capita viderit, & autoritatis pondere, et utilitatis ubertate superare.*

The Two Sicilies, as governed by the feudal law in all its strictness, offer to the nobility of those states of Italy, where the laws have established an equality, such as Genoa, Venice, Milan, &c. an advantage, which in France Normandy offers to the Parisians and inhabitants of the common-law provinces, where equality is settled by the municipal law, fiefs are purchased, and go without any division or dismemberment to the purchaser's eldest son. A great part of the Sicilian fiefs are, accordingly, in the hands of Venetians, Genoese, &c. and it is something strange to me, that the sovereigns of this kingdom have never thought of prohibiting, or at least of causing to be purchased, a conveniency, which, besides its detri-

* De Orat. L. i. N. 195.

ment to cultivation, throws the principal fruits of their subjects industry into foreign hands.

A litigious disposition, if not introduced, has been perpetuated at Naples, jointly with the Norman laws; so that there are few countries which have so many law-courts, and people living by the law. This is the greatest, and perhaps the only change, that has happened in the Neapolitan manners, as exhibited in the picture given of them by Statius, who wrote under Domitian. He says of Naples,

*Nulla foro rabies, aut strictæ jurgia legis,
Moris jura viris solum & sine fascibus æquum.**

3. In all the countries which I have seen, there is not a town, Langres in France excepted, where the walls of churches are so crowded with epitaphs and funerary inscriptions as Naples; and they generally favour very strongly of the country: grief expresses itself in epigrams, antitheses, and puns; a diction quite opposite to the style used by the ancients on these lugubrious objects. Misson has inserted a great many of those Neapolitan epitaphs, taken as they came. I shall mention two, which he should not have omitted. The first is a distich on a stone sarcophagus, surmounted with a little Bacchus, in a chapel of the Mount of Olives church: it was composed by king Alphonso the Magnanimous, in honour of a favourite called Massimo.

*Qui fuit Alfonsi quondam pars maxima regis
Maximus, hæc tenui nunc tumulatur humo.*

* Sylv. L. iii.

The second, which affects both by the subject and the turn of it, heightens the beauty of the monument erected by the great Gonsalvo's grandson, in the church of Santa Maria la-Nuova, to the memory of M. de Lautrec, who died before Naples, which he was besieging for Francis I.. This monument is of the last century :

ODETTO FUXIO LAUTRECO,
FERDINANDUS CONSALVUS, F. FILIUS
LUD. MAGNI CONSALVI NEPOS,
CUM EJUS OSSA, LICET HOSTIS,
UT BELLI FORTUNA TULERAT,
SINE HONORE JACERE COMPERISSET
HUMANARUM MISERIARUM MEMOR,
IN AVITO SACELLO,
GALLO DUCI,
HISPANUS PRINCEPS
POSUIT.

At Naples, opposite to the Carmelites and the Torrion, so famous by Guise's Memoirs, is seen another monument, but of less honour to human nature, the pillar at the foot of which the unfortunate Conradin was beheaded and interred (*i*) by order of Charles of Anjou, who had wrested the kingdom of Naples from him. On this pillar is a distich in Gothic characters, containing a taunt not less shocking than the event it commemorates.

*Asturis ungue Leo pullum rapiens Aquilinum,
Hic deplumavit, Acephalumque dedit.*

(*i*) In the middle of the very square where he was executed, he being at that time under excommunication.

The

The empress Margaret, dowager of the emperor Conradin, had flown from the heart of Germany to Naples, to ransom her son's life; but she came too late, and all her comfort was her being permitted to remove his corpse from the unhallowed place where it had been put into the ground, to the Carmelite church. A private person afterwards erected, at his own expence, a little chapel on the very spot, and about the pillar, on the top of which he had a cross set up. The floor of this chapel, lying lower than the ground of the square about it, is, excepting the middle, (which is a thoroughfare from one part of the square to the other) always damp, from a cause manifestly natural; but the Neapolitans look on this moistness as a miraculous and perpetual testimony of the innocence of Conradin, and his cousin Frederic duke of Austria, who had been involved in his misfortunes and catastrophe: this is a respectable prejudice, deserving to be kept up in support of humanity, and the right of nations.

Naples, by its situation and harbour, has always been the centre of a commerce, which it lies in its own breast to enlarge, and very considerably:

Its exports are hemp, flax, goats hair, silk, dried fruits, manna, horses, excellent ship-timber, and different kinds of grain. The imports are cloth, linen, and silk stuffs. The importation of cloth is intirely in the hands of the English, in opposition to the French, in consequence of a wrong measure which I shall briefly set forth. The French had for a long time the exclusive monopoly of supplying Naples with cloth; and these cloths, most of which are superfine, paid a duty *ad valorem*. The English began the same trade with low-priced

cloths, either as meaning thereby only to fill up the void left them by the finer cloths of the French, or that their manufactures were not yet in a condition to enter into an open competition with them. However it be, having long traded on this footing, and thus paying very low duties, and from time to time renewing treaties in which the tariff of the former duties was still retained, they are gradually come to supply Naples with the superfine cloths, and without any variation of the ancient tariff. The French, especially since the accession of Don Carlos to the crown, might certainly claim equal indulgence; but, whether from forgetfulness or mismanagement on their side, or good luck and address on that of the English, things still continue to the prejudice of France, all whose trade in this country is now dwindled to camblets and Picardy lawns.

Naples, being a long time under the dominion of the Spaniards, had imbibed their disposition: it paid tribute to the trading nations for all its wants, without knowing how to go about lessening those wants by industry, or so much as furnishing some returns by the mere natural productions of its soil. Don Carlos and his ministry have made it one of their principal objects, to raise the nation from such a situation, equally scandalous and detrimental, by setting up new manufactures, and reviving those which were declining under the want of protection.

For some years, the manufacture of linens had consisted only of what was made by the country people for their own use; whereas it now begins to supply the towns-people with household linen; and

and from the profitable sale of them they will naturally receive a farther improvement. Manufactories of velvets, half velvets, handkerchiefs, silk stockings, &c. increase, and produce goods which recommend themselves to foreigners. Great quantities of spun cotton, besides supplying the national manufactures, are exported to Germany and Swisserland. Lastly, commerce has even a professorship in the university: it had been originally founded by a private person for morality; but being discontinued for want of an audience, the government have applied it to the explanation of the principles and particulars of trade, which at least proves the ministry's great attention to that part of administration.

From my account of the present state of music at Naples, it is easily conceived to form no inconsiderable branch of trade. The marble slabs for veneering, in working of which the Neapolitans excel; the macaroons and other pastry works, of which the Italians are so fond, and for which Naples is particularly famous; horses and mules of the Neapolitan breed, the like of which no part of Italy affords; together with jewelry and the book trade, which flourish greatly at Naples; make so many branches of the trade which supports this great city, and, if the government continues its protection, will enrich it.

When these matters are come to a kind of consistency, it is thought the duties on exportation, and the embargo on studs, will be taken off. This consistency is the king's view in the reimbursement of the capitals, for the interest of which most of those duties, alienated by the Spanish viceroys, are

still levied for certain companies on account of former loans.

Till that liberty, which commerce requires, shall take place, these duties are collected with a rigour not known in any other country. This I experienced at my leaving Naples : I was searched in such a manner, that I could scarce help thinking that even a Triorches would be seizable, and subject to a fine for having more than he should. By their very narrow inspection of my clothes, which was the next article they proceeded to, I was quite amazed to find that linen, stuffs, and stockings, though made at Naples, paid a considerable export duty.

If any thing obstructs the employment of industry, on which the government is so intent, and which clogs the resources in view for it, it will perhaps be the resolution taken by the same government to set up Naples as a military power, and keep it on that footing. In consequence of this resolution it is, that the king of Naples, in a profound peace, keeps a body of between forty and fifty thousand men. Population indeed is no great sufferer by it, the far greater part of the foot consisting of French deserters drawn hither by the large pay, but still given to desert; which is the more extraordinary, as no discharge is to be hoped for, but by death, or when irrecoverably disabled by illness. We were continually accosted, in the streets of Naples, by one or other of these soldiers, who, taking us to be French, talked to us of their hardships, and their sorrow for ever having listed in that service ; but their sorrow signified nothing, the frontiers being too well secured for any of them to escape. One

act of humanity in the government, however, deserves notice; that, on deserters being brought back to their corps, they are only put in prison and kept on bread and water for a few days: on a second crime the punishment is something heavier, but never death.

In our return to France, we met on the Leghorn heaths some French soldiers, who were come so far as from Westphalia to shut themselves up in that mouse-trap. We told them, as pathetically as we could, the conditions and the lamentations of those who had been caught in it: they said they would try, and walked on.

RETURN from NAPLES to ROME.

IN this return, I followed, from Capua to Terracina, part of the way which Horace took in that journey from Rome to Brundisium, which, in imitation of Lucilius, he describes with equal beauty and simplicity in the fifth Satire of his first book: my eyes were then in that state of *lippitude*, with which Horace was troubled on this journey.

Reading that satire with close attention, I discovered a fact which has escaped the commentators and translators, viz. that Horace performed this long journey on foot. This may be concluded, 1. from the word *reperere* (*k*), which occurs twice; and from *altius præcinctis*, all terms agreeing only with persons on foot: 2. from the distance of the places where they put up at night: 3. from the express mention he makes of his travelling part

(*k*) Dacier, after explaining in a note that *reperere*, the same as ἐπὶ πτερυγί in Greek, to *slide*, to *creep*, to *crawl*, signifies to go, concludes from it, that Horace travelled on horseback.

of the road in a carriage, and not saying a word about his beast when he took boat for Forum Appii: 4. from the age and circumstances of the poet, who was in the twenty-third year of his age, having, the year before, served the campaign of Philippi in the foot: 5. from the rhetorician Heliodorus being of the company, and who, Greek like, was a mighty walker, both from choice and œconomy, and likewise in consequence of the Grecian education. The illustration of this discovery I leave to the first Capuchin who, in translating Horace, or commenting on him, will be pleased to observe, that the wits of Augustus's court still retained, with this ancient way of travelling, the simplicity and plainness of manners which it seems to indicate.

I have said, that the satire in question is written with equal beauty and simplicity: but here I must except the episode of Messius and Sarmentus: it is in the low vulgar style, which had over-run Paris at our coming thither in 1755, and which we may suppose Horace to have brought with him from the army. He makes use of it again in the satire *proscripti regis Rupili*, which he wrote the year following. His conversation in high life, his connexions with Augustus's friends, the manners of a court equally polite and learned, soon made him lay aside that ribaldry, which accordingly is no longer seen in his works, and which he left to *lippis atque tonsoribus*; though Lambinus, and most of the commentators, pronounce it to be *urbanissimum et festivissimum* (1).

(1) M. Dacier's note on this ribaldry is rather more ridiculous than that on *repere*.

The curiosities in the several places along the main road from Naples to Rome, are to be met with in all books of travels ; so that I shall only speak of the non-descripts.

At the distance of three leagues from Capua we crossed the Garigliano, the Liris of the ancients. This river, which was a boundary to Latium, waters a very fruitful country, bordered by those risings which produced the famous Falernian wine. Here are seen the ruins of the town of Minturnum and its marshes, where Marius sought shelter from Sylla's revenge. Speaking of this country, so often imbrued with French blood, Brantome* breaks out into this lamentation : " Alas !
 " I have seen those very places ; I have even been
 " on the Garigliano. It was at sun-set, more than
 " at any other time of the day, that the shades
 " and *manes* began to appear like ghosts : the no-
 " ble souls of our brave French who expired there,
 " seemed to rise from the earth to speak to me,
 " and, as it were, answered me, talking of their
 " battles and their glorious death."

M O L A.

Mola, the next place on the road, is the ancient Formiæ, built by the Lestrigones, who were accounted men-eaters. All that remains of this town is a single street at the bottom of the bay, which is covered towards the west by the promontory of Gaeta. The hill where Formiæ stood, is now covered with excellent vineyards. As I was walking among them, I perceived the remains of a wall of a prodigious thickness, consisting of very

* Life of Confalvo.

large stones uniformly cut in embossments. This embellishment must have been a tedious work, the stones being a compound of extremely hard *flex*, joined together by a natural cement, to which naturalists give the English name of *pudding*: the whole promontory of Gaeta is one intire mass of this kind.

The hills, of which this promontory is a continuance, were for a long time the haunt of gangs of *banditti*, deserters from the armies, which, for a great part of the sixteenth century, had been fighting against one another for the kingdom of Naples. These *banditti*, who lived by pillage, and were true successors to the Lestrigones, had formed themselves into a kind of republic, which the Spanish viceroys little disturbed, if, as is said, they did not tolerate it. Whilst they held this post, travellers never ventured near them, except in numerous caravans completely armed. I was told that one of these caravans, with which Tasso was going to Naples, being attacked, defeated, and pillaged, one of the *banditti*, hearing, on the field of battle, the name of the author of *Jerusalem*, took no small pains to find him out, and presented him to the commander of the troop, who received him with respect, and even a kind of veneration: all his baggage was returned, with the addition of a present; and the commander himself, at the head of a detachment, escorted him out of all danger: thus providence is frequently pleased to alleviate the afflictions with which some cotemporary jealousy embitters the life of illustrious persons, who, like Tasso,

*Ploravere fuis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis.*

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The frontiers of the kingdom of Naples were at length cleared of these robbers, towards the close of the last century, by the marquis de Carpi. Father Mabillon, Miſſon, Burnet, and all travellers who have made the tour of Italy since that happy expedition, join in commemorating the brave marquis de Carpi.

At Mola I asked for a barber : immediately after, comes in a tall, swarthy, meager man with whiskers, a coat all in tatters, and a spada of an enormous length ; in a word, he appeared to be a brave descendant from the ancient Lestrigones : after all the Italian ceremonies previous to this operation, he shaved me with such dexterity and dispatch, that I never before nor since met with the like. I did not forget to ask him what countryman he was, and where he had learned his trade : he told me that he was a Catalonian, and was just come from Constantinople, where for six years he had practised shaving, but could hardly keep life and soul together, being but a bungler in comparison with the Turkish barbers.

Beyond Mola, fronting a bay formed by the sea in the hinder part of the promontory of Gaeta, the Appian road is lined with some houses, one of which is supposed to be Cicero's *Formianum*. These houses, still partly subsisting, shew the antiquity of their construction, in the very small, and very elegant rooms, windows, and doors : every thing is faced with marble, and the decorations are distributed with equal moderation and taste. Facing these houses, a gentle slope full of olive-yards leads to the sea. There it was, that, according to tradition, Cicero fell a victim to the resentment
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of Antony and Fulvia; and this spot, Appian says, travellers used to visit with a veneration little short of religious worship.

F O N D I.

I saw at Fondi, the last place in the kingdom of Naples, St. Thomas d'Aquinas's school and chamber: it is only from a respect to these monuments, that the Dominicans abide in a house of a very forlorn appearance, and in which St. Thomas's chamber itself is a nest of rats. Between this town and the ruins of the castle, which is famous for a princess of the house of Colonna being carried away by the noted corsair Barbarossa, runs a very fine brook, by the inhabitants called *Fontana di Petronio*. At the source are still seen remains of apartments, which unquestionably were baths. The pavement is in mosaic compartments. In one of the inward angles stands part of a marble consular statue as big as life.

When I was at Fondi, it happened to be a fair or market day; at least the market-place swarmed with men and women, buying, selling, talking, and all in their Sunday dress. The women's apparel is perfectly like that of the country women about Bugey, and the maids at Lyons. The men wear a jacket, and a kind of seaman's watch-coat thrown over the shoulders, both very coarse and of a Capuchin colour: their legs favoured of the heroic times, having on the buskin, in which our tragic actors figure; but the sole of it is only a piece of raw leather; the hair on the out or inside, according to the season, or the fancy of the wearer: and it is tied to the foot in three places with pieces of packthread, which are afterwards carried

carried cross-wise about the leg, to above the calf. In winter, they add woollen stockings, or, in their jargon, *cioccias*, which is pronounced like the French word *chausses*: so, in the Calabrian jargon, instead of *camino* they say *ciminiere*, which is precisely the French word *cheminée*: whether or no the French carried those words to the farthest part of Italy, or whether they brought them from thence, is not worth inquiry.

By means of the fair I had a sight of Mola court, which was held under a shed in a corner of the market-place. The judge's appearance put me in mind of Horace's *Aufidius Luscus*, and

*Insani pramia scribæ,
Prætextam et latum clavum prumæque batillum.*

This magistrate, without the awful *insignia* of justice, or richness of apparel, had all that supercilious stiffness of deportment, which, in the petty jurisdictions of every country, justiciaries affect as essential to their character.

T E R R A C I N A.

Terracina is the first place in the ecclesiastical state. Though the pope keeps a garrison here, as a frontier town, it is very thin of inhabitants, and of course has no appearance of wealth. Its houses are little better than heaps of stones and rock, almost without any opening for door or windows; and the street door being of such an uncommon thickness, every house here might stand something of a siege. The day I passed through this place being Friday, the ox, which was to be eaten on the Sunday, ran about the streets with

with the mob at its heels, hooting and harraſſing him: this is the way in all little towns, where they ſay that the fleſh of theſe creatures, which are killed when ſpent with fatigue and all over ſweat, is made more tender and palatable by ſuch exerciſe.

The cathedral of Terracina is in a great part the remainder of a temple: under the portico, which is ſupported by very beautiful marble pillars, is a large vaſe of white marble, adorned with relievos. The middle of the ſocle, on which the colonnade is raiſed, exhibits a large and fine inſcription in praiſe of Theodoſius, who repaired the road from Rome to Naples, and all the cities on this road, with a magnificence which would have done honour to the firſt ages of the empire.

The cathedral's ſteeple to the north and eaſt overlooks a country naturally very rich, and charmingly interſected with brooks and little ſtreams; ſo that nothing but hands is wanting for very advantageous improvements. The Pontine marſhes are a part of this country: weſtward the proſpect is bounded by the promontory *Circello*, famous in mythology as the manſion of *Circe*, and for the trick ſhe put on Ulyſſes's companions: the remainder of this delightful view is filled up by the main ſea.

Having dined at Terracina, I ſet out before moſt of the carriages; and, invited by the clearneſs of the ſky, the mildneſs of the air, and the beauty of the Appian road, which hereabouts is as ſound and intire as the cenſor Appius left it, I walked on it to the length of about two leagues. All the ſtones with which it was made, are of ſuch a hardneſs, that nineteen centuries have not made
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the least impresson on them : they are all so irregular in their joinings, as if they had been laid confusedly, and as chance offered them ; but their exact correspondence both among themselves, and those which form the borders and lining of the causeway, indicates the most skilful combination for the solidity of works of this kind. There are still some remains of those *cippi* (*m*), or jossing-blocks, for the more easy getting a horseback or alighting, the Romans riding without stirrups. I have seen such jossing-blocks at Paris, at the gate of the Pelletier hôtel in old Temple street, and at the gate of the Ursins old hôtel. These belong to the time when the first officers of the parliament had but a single mule in their stable.

That part of the Appian road where I footed it, has, both on the right and left, one continued row of ruined palaces, temples, aqueducts, and tombs. These ruins raised in me a reflexion, what a glorious sight Italy must have afforded to northern *virtuosi*, who came to see it in the time of the Upper empire. Among these *rudera* I perceived, on the right, amidst a heap of bushes, a piece which appeared to me in better preservation than any thing I had yet seen in my walk. Towards the road, it seemed only a bare wall ; but going round it, I was surpris'd to find it a little temple, or chapel, intirely of large slabs of white marble of the most exquisite workmanship, and in the finest preservation. The ornaments were only plain mouldings in the arch of the front, and a slight entablature of a most delicate simplicity. If this

(*m*) These Misson took for remains of walls running along both sides of the causeway.

temple, which resembles a vast niche, was not a tomb, it was doubtless a chapel, like that consecrated by Cicero to the memory of his dear Tulliola, so often mentioned in his Letters to *Atticus*. Whatever may have been its original design and use, it is now made a repository for dung and decayed plants and vegetables, kept there to macerate by the proprietor of a neighbouring spot of ground. The proportion of the door, being buried full one third of its height, shews that the whole surface of the Appian road is raised at least two feet, if, as is highly probable, some steps led up to this temple (*n*): it is enough, that I make known this discovery to artists who are able to clear it up. It would not become me to go beyond Cicero, when speaking of a monument of this kind: *ibi capella quædam est: ea quidem mirè, ut etiam nos, qui harum rerum rudes sumus, intelligere possumus, scitè facta et venustè.**

In my perambulation I met with some gutters, which enabled me to verify what is said of the construction of the Roman roads by those who have bestowed their attention on these monuments, in which the magnificence of the masters of the universe is perhaps most augustly displayed. These gutters, by laying open perpendicularly the side of the causeway, shewed me that the pavement rested all along on solid masonry work, lined with small stones of equal bigness, bound by a very strong cement. Though the gutters in some places were

(*n*) A farther consequence of this is, that originally the *via Appia* was two or three feet above the level of the ground, which at present is equal to it.

* Cic. in Verr. L. ii.

not much less than two feet in depth, I could not any where perceive where the masonry begins. Its depth doubtless is in proportion to the laxity of the marshy ground, which, all along this part, is its basis.

On comparing roads of such a construction with the modern roads, now every where so multiplied, the latter seem only as garden walks, in the keeping and annual repair of which

*Et Dominum fallunt, & prosunt Furibus ;**

whilst all that can be expected from them, in the revolutions and changes which the course of time brings with it, is to become mires quite impracticable to carriages.

P I P E R N O.

Piperno, once a considerable city, but now ruined, and the native place of Camilla, one of Virgil's heroines, I shall remember for more sensible reasons ; for, though I was in the best inn, I had a most wretched supper ; and as to my bed, I very willingly started from it at three o'clock in the morning (o). I dined still worse, at an inn

(o) This city is very famous in Livy, by the name of *Pri-vernium*, for its fortitude under the misfortunes of a war, which it had declared against the Romans. A senator having in a full house asked the deputies of the vanquished, what punishment they thought they deserved ; *That*, said they, *due to men who still insist on freedom.* “ But,” added the consul, “ should we condescend to grant you a peace, will “ you be sure to abide by the conditions ?” *For ever*, answered they, *if honourable ; as little as possible, if disgraceful.* On these answers, the senate declared the *Pri-vernates* citizens of Rome. Of such men the wretched peasants, dispersed in the ecclesiastical state, are the successors.

* Hor. Ep. vi. Lib. i.

standing by itself in the front of a wood of holyoaks. On one side of this inn, in the midst of a very even spot of ground, the earth has given way, and opened a circular gulph of about fifty feet diameter. At the depth of fifty or twenty feet, and through three successive *strata* of shells of different kinds, one sees a water of a blackish green, and the depth of which, I was told, could not be found ; with the addition, that an inn, where things *che non convenivano* were practised, had stood on that spot ; and that St. Nicholas, in punishment of their profligacy, opened the gulph, which swallowed house, people, and all.

Some woods of tall trees, which I crossed in this road, are as awkwardly felled as those which I had seen in the kingdom of Naples. The woodcutters, to save themselves the trouble of stooping, do by these woods as the reapers do by the corn, cutting them at the height of the waist, leaving such standards as would not be thus neglected among more industrious, more active, and at the same time a more numerous people.

VELETRI.

The only entertainment my curiosity met with at Veletri, which I reached very early, was a fine palace, with a garden extremely spacious, and, like the palace, embellished with statues and antiques of all kinds, besides the regularity of its disposition, which surpassed any I ever saw in Italy. In Veletri square stands a bronze statue of Urban VIII. cast by Bernini : it is exactly the same with that on his tomb in St. Peter's at Rome.

The Veletrians seem to want that regard in which
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the Romans never fail towards masterly performances. This statue has not only been placed in a kind of enclosure on the square; but this place is the receptacle of all the filth in the neighbourhood, besides the ordure of the populace.

It being All Saints eve, I saw vespers pontifically celebrated in the cathedral by cardinal Delci, dean of the sacred college, and, as such, titular of the bishoprick of Ostia, incorporated with that of Veletri. What a difference between the pomp and splendor of Rome on such occasions, and the plain, poor, and mean appearance of religion at Veletri! In short, the dean of the sacred college, when performing the most brilliant functions of the first see in the Roman church, does not make the figure of the most petty parochial priest at Paris, at the head of his clergy.

Veletri stands on a rising ground, and is surrounded with vineyards and little gardens, which, to the *curiali* at Rome, are as Tivoli, Frascati, &c. to the prelates and persons of rank. This city, though little better than a desert, has more fountains, and these yielding more water, than many capitals in our country; and these fountains add a new delight to that which Veletri receives from the purity of its air.

This city gave birth to Augustus, whose father and ancestors had there performed the same functions, which appeared so ridiculous to Horace in the person of the magistrate of Fondi: this magistrate however was related to the celebrated Livia, consort to Augustus, who in a great measure conducted himself by her councils. Several small towns in the Campania of Rome

had the like honour of giving birth to emperors. Galba was born in a village within the district of Fondi ; Vespasian, in a farm-house near Reate ; Nerva, at Narni : and the inhabitants of these places, high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, still call those masters of the universe Cousins and Countrymen ; and he who was born in their town, is with them the greatest emperor ever mentioned in history.

JOURNEY from ROME to FLORENCE.

The rains which at Rome conclude the *influenza*, and to which September usually puts a period, had continued to October : it poured down incessantly day and night ; and never was a season less fit for travelling. To this excuse my kind friends added the complaint of my eyes, that I might spend the winter at Rome. “ Are you “ then,” said C. P. “ for opening a shop at Flo- “ rence ? ” where dim-sightedness is very common, and the inhabitants, being more or less afflicted with this disorder, shew a predilection for the unhappy persons who labour under it.

Amidst all these instances, and my own inclination to stay, some concerns of my fellow traveller preponderated for our departure. The deluge increasing, instead of abating, we could not but expect as bad weather in our return, as it had been fine in our coming ; and our domestics, in going to the post-house for horses, were wet to the skin. The rain however held up just as we were getting into the chaise, after a social dinner with our select acquaintance ; and to Florence we had very fine autumn weather.

At Baccano, the second stage, a fine spaniel of the large kind came up to us, and escorted us to Florence, playing and eating with us, lying in our room, and attending us in all our walks about the towns on the road: in short, he was as fond of us as if born and bred amongst us. The master of the inn, where we alighted at Florence, knowing him again at first sight, told us that this dog was used to run to and fro between Baccano or Viterbo and Florence: he said, that he often came there with travellers, but that he never went farther than Florence, and, when a little refreshed, he would set off again for Viterbo: accordingly so it was; for, after a stay of four days, *Baccano*, the name we had given him, mingled with some English gentlemen who set out from our inn.

Night was coming on when we reached the third or fourth stage, which was a lonely house in the midst of a wood, on a rising ground, surrounded with streams, most of which had overflowed. The place perfectly agreed with the account given of it at Rome: our supper we could not complain of; and we were attended by a young, sprightly, and courteous landlady, whose behaviour, like that of her husband, gave no room for suspicion. Our only precaution was, that, when we were lighted up to our apartment, I called from the gallery to our domestics, to see that we might set out early, and that, whenever they came to call us, they would find our chamber-door open: indeed we did not shut it, and had a very quiet night; whereas, had we shewn any suspicion or fear, it might have been a night of disturbance, if not of bloodshed.

This confidence is the surest guard against any bad designs which may be apprehended in these parts. The villains, being the most cowardly scoundrels on earth, dread nothing so much as coolness of temper: judging of others by themselves, they imagine it must be certainly backed by a magazine of arms; and such they account all the post-chaises with English or French passengers; so that a gentleman of either nation, alighting sword in hand, shall drive a dozen of these rascals with all their daggers and pistols about them. I myself, on the sudden appearance of a man bolting out of a corner of a wood with a gun, sword, dagger, stiletto and pistols, have, as the best way, leaped out of the chaise without any arms, gone up to him, and, looking him in the face, asked him, *Che hora é?* “What’s o’clock?” and sent him away in a strong panic, so that his many arms and weapons jingled.

What other travellers do, I know not; but certainly no traveller could be more poorly armed than we were. *Tutta Brescia*, say the Italians, *non armarebbe un cogl.* “With all the arms in “Brescia, a cowardly rascal would not think he “had enough.”

V I T E R B O.

Viterbo, which we visited the second day, is a very pretty place, with a cathedral, a guild-hall, a square, a palace, and beautiful fountains.

This city is moderately well peopled, and shews itself at a distance by some very lofty towers, like those we had seen in Romania, and which, like those, had been used as fortresses in the civil wars that harraised Viterbo till the sixteenth century.

All

All the public edifices in Viterbo are adorned with inscriptions, some ancient and some of the middle age, but forged by the famous Anniius, a Dominican, and by which Miſſon was deceived, and Gruter himſelf had adopted, but without having ever ſeen them. This ſame Anniius, who died and was buried at Viterbo, where he was likewiſe born, in the pontificate of Alexander VI. had publiſhed, under the name of *Philo, Beroſus, Meſtaſthenes*, and ſeveral Greek and Latin authors, of whom only the names now remain, ſeveral pieces on antiquity and ancient geography, and which for ſome time had the run of the ſpurious decretals. They are cited as real by ſeveral writers of the ſixteenth century, and among others by Leandro Alberti, who maintained, as a French Dominican has ſince, in an apology of Anniius, that all thoſe writings accounted ſpurious had been publiſhed from ancient manuſcripts, which, Leandro goes ſo far as to ſay, he had ſeen in Anniius's poſſeſſion: *Effendo io già molto giovine, ho veduto gli anticki libri di detti autori*. It may be ſuppoſed, that it was ſuch kind of falſifications which put father Hardouin on his ſyſtem concerning the falſity of almoſt all the monuments both of civil and eccleſiaſtical antiquity.

The country about Viterbo is covered with ſeats of the cardinals and firſt families of Rome; but the moſt ſtately and ſplendid of all is Caprarola, built by Vignola, for cardinal Farneſe, nephew to Paul III. This palace, together with a part of the country joining to Bolsena lake, ſtill belongs to the houſe of Farneſe and its representatives: formerly both were a part of the duchy of Caſtro,
the

the annexment of which proved so tedious and difficult to the holy see; yet to this same see, soon or late, will revert those allodial lands, which by the feudal laws have escheated to Don Carlos. After this reunion, nothing will remain but the bare memory of a house, whose perpetuity seemed secured by the immensity of its possessions.

The road which led us from Rome into Tuscany is the *via Cassia* mentioned by Cicero, in his Philippics, as dividing Etruria. This road, which crosses a hilly country, was, in itself the worst, and kept in the worst repair, which we had yet seen in Italy: according to appearances, no manner of care has been taken of it since the time of that Cassius whose name it bears. Be it observed, that the towns along this road are all built on hills, and were founded by the Etrusci, except Viterbo, which stands at the foot of a hill called *Cyminus*, to which it has given its name. Viterbo indeed is a modern city, made up of the remains of the Etruscan towns destroyed by the Lombards.

M O N T E F I A S C O N E.

Monte Fiascone was the capital of the Falisci: it is famous for its wine, and the numerous seminary founded by cardinal Barbarigo, whose canonisation is now in hand; and lastly, by the famous epitaph, *Est, est, est; propter nimium est, &c.* but without a date. The German prelate whom it commemorates was one *Fugger*, of the family of the celebrated Fuggers of Augsburg, bankers to the emperor Maximilian, patrons of literature and learned men, and since honoured with the title
of

of Counts of the Empire. Their name in German is pronounced *Foucre*, which the valet de chambre, who conducted his master's funeral, has latinised by *De Fucris*. Out of his master's spoil this same valet instituted a yearly libation of two casks of Muscadello to be poured out on the German prelate's tomb every Tuesday in Whitfun week. This libation was daily observed till cardinal Barbarigo came to be bishop; but he converted it into bread, to be distributed to the poor on the same day.

The road from Aquapendente to Sienna is no better than a heap of large flints, thrown there by the cultivators of the neighbouring grounds. These stones lying loose, and rolling one on the other, make the road intolerable at all times. We were told at Radicofani, that about a month before, a young French abbé going this road in a crazy post-chaise, the bottom came out; and that the abbé had been obliged to travel on about a league in this plight, crying out and roaring all the way; but the noise of the stones drowned his lamentations.

R A D I C O F A N I.

Radicofani, now the first stage within the Tuscan dominions, belonged for a considerable time to the pope. It is an immense and very lofty mountain, with a citadel on the top of it, which from beneath has the appearance of a town. This citadel is said to have been built by the Lombards, and was repaired at a great expence by Adrian IV. The dukes of Tuscany likewise, besides improving the old, added new works: but about the year 1740, a great part of it was destroyed by fire, and has

not yet been intirely rebuilt: the pope, indeed, is not so dangerous an enemy, that any great dispatch should be used in the repair.

Radicofani, towards the south, gives a view of the sea, and the *Stati degli Presidii*; and northwards, of the ancient Clusium, and that part of Tuscany which is most famous in the Roman history. This fortrefs was the theatre of a very singular adventure, which happened to an abbot of Clugny in his way from Rome to Sienna, where he was going for his health; and is the argument of Boccaccio's ninety-second novel, where it is related with all the natural agreeableness for which that writer is so celebrated.

S I E N N A.

Sienna, which was founded by the Galli Senones in Brennus's expedition, and long famous for its numerous population, rich manufactories, large trade, military feats and signal victories over the Florentines, has been continually on the decline since 1554, when the Spaniards subjected it to the dominion of the dukes of Tuscany.

The only vestiges of its ancient grandeur are the turrets, with which the most considerable houses are flanked; its cathedral, which in the whole and every part of it is a prodigy of magnificence, and kept with suitable neatness; and a great many churches and monasteries, which, with a very rich and well-served hospital, share what remains of its former riches.

The most sightly houses have, in the ground floor, and many in every story, in the piers between the windows, large iron cramps, projecting about

a foot, with a thick ring at the end of them. I never could learn, either at Sienna, or at Florence, the present use, or the original meaning, of this odd decoration.

The large square, excavated in the figure of a shell, environed with but ordinary buildings, and too large for Sienna in its present depopulation, is remarkable only for its shape, and a spring with water enough to make a little sea of the square. This spring, which issues from a side of the square, has been celebrated by Dante, book xxx. of his *Hell*.

Per Fonte Branda non darei la vista.

About the close of the fifteenth century, Pandulphus Petrucci had made himself master of Sienna, and governed the republic with the same right and reputation as the first Medicis governed Florence. This is the Pandulphus whom Machiavel sets as a pattern for usurpers of the sovereignty in a free state; and to the ministers of these usurpers he recommends, for their model, Antonio di Venafro, who served Pandulphus in that quality. Florence afforded the like copies and like models to Machiavel; but foreign instances best suited his instructions, which he intended for the Medicis, that a dominion, which his country was now unable to shake off, might be directed to its greatest good.

Petrucci's character and high station procured the cardinalship to his son Alphonso, who, being promoted very young, imprudently put himself at the head of the faction, which, on the death of Julius II. entered into a kind of combination to
exclude

exclude the ancient cardinals from the papacy : it was indeed his misfortune to carry his point, procuring the young cardinal John de Medicis to be successor to Julius II. and he, being appointed to proclaim this election, did it in these terms ; “ We have for pope, John de Medicis cardinal deacon, who has taken the name of Leo X. MAY THE YOUNG LIVE FOR EVER,” *Vivano i Giovani*. But Borghino his brother, who now filled the place of their father Pandulphus, being soon after driven out of Sienna by the intrigues of the Medicis, he in revenge betook himself to intrigue, caballing against them, and against Leo X. who, irritated at such practices, confined him in the castle of St. Angelo, where he died during his imprisonment.

The territory of Sienna, and that part of Tuscany between Sienna and Florence, present the traveller with a new heaven and a new earth. The towns, the villages, and the farms, besides their number, are better peopled than those in the ecclesiastical state : the lands are better cultivated ; the men are more robust, and, in their whole carriage, shew that chearfulness, vigour, and alacrity, which accompany ease and plenty, and are damped and extinguished by distress. In the very peasants are seen those significant physiognomies which completely answer the pictures of Dante, Boccace, Machiavel, &c. To this improvement and extent of cultivation is certainly to be attributed the serenity of the sky, which here is not clogged with the fuliginous vapours exhaled from the wastes of the ecclesiastical state. In short, the appearance of both countries is the very reverse of the description which two geographers, who do
not

not value themselves on correctness, but are highly entertaining, have drawn of the countries of Papi mania and Pape Figuierra.

F L O R E N C E.

Florence, the capital of Tuscany, was less known in antiquity than any of the cities now subject to it. Its first inhabitants, being wholly given up to the enjoyments of a delicious situation, fell an easy prey to the several barbarians who ravaged Italy, and were likewise victims to the jealousy of their neighbours, who, after driving them out of their city, reduced it to a heap of ruins. It owed its restoration to Charlemagne, who, on his return from Rome, in 802, rebuilt its walls, and re-assembled the inhabitants, who had been dispersed in the country along the Arno.

They availed themselves of the anarchy, into which Italy fell under Charlemagne's successors, to erect themselves into a republic; and the first exploit of this infant state was an act of revenge against the city of Fiesoli, which had destroyed Florence. The Florentines, in their turn, pillaged and rased it in 1010, and, to cut off all hopes of its being rebuilt, like the Romans in their first conquests, they removed the Fiesolese to Florence, and incorporated them with their republic.

After this incorporation, Florence became to Italy, what Naples was to Greece in those glorious times of which Thucydides and Xenophon have written the history. Profuse of the riches accruing to it from a large trade and flourishing manufactures, and stimulated by that pride which is the parent of vast projects and noble enterprises,

prizes, it aspired to every kind of glory; and to this progressive exertion of its genius Europe owed the revival of the patriotic, the political, and military virtues, and likewise of the sciences and arts, so long suppressed by barbarism.

Cosmo de Medicis, like a second Pisistratus, undertook to make himself master of a people who looked on liberty as the chief good. Immense riches, boundless liberality, popular manners, a latent and active policy, an intrepid courage and a patience ever uniform, the love of literature and the fine arts, much zeal for religion, an humble deference to all his ministers (*o*), were the instruments of that tyranny, established by one whose grandfather was scarce known; if the odious name of Tyranny may be given to a sovereignty which Cosmo exercised, as he himself used to say, *con capucchio*, “in a cowl,” without any mark of distinction from the other citizens. It was very sensibly said by an emperor, on seeing the palace which Cosmo built at Florence, “What crosses, “ what uneasinesses, what oppositions, what vexations, must such an elevation have cost the man “ who dared attempt it!”

However it be, Cosmo, to all the advantages which his country enjoyed, added inward tranquillity: he was a liberal patron of genius, and assisted the advancement of the sciences and arts, the hereditary taste of which in his family

(*o*) *Con palese e manifeste virtu, con secreti e nascosti vizzi fatto capo di una Repubblica piu tosto non serva che libera.* Varchi. “With open and conspicuous virtues, close and secret in “ his vices, he became the head of a republic not under “ slavery indeed, neither free.”

did not a little contribute to perpetuate its sovereignty. In a word, he deserved that best of titles, of Father of his Country, as it stands on his monument, and supplies the place of all the titles and elogiums with which his descendants might have loaded it.

COSMUS MEDICIS,

DECR. PUB.

PATER PATRI.

Laurence the Magnificent, his grandson, reigned by the like claim, and in the like manner, over Florence; of which the Medicis owed the sovereignty not so much to the labours of their ancestors, as to the intrigues of Leo X. and Clement VII. and the alliances which those popes procured to their family.

Laurence de Medicis, grandson to Laurence the Magnificent, was indebted to Leo X. for his marriage with the heiress of the house of Bologna, as one of the secret articles of the *Concordat* made in 1515, between that pope and Francis I. Catharine de Medicis, the fruit of this marriage, was in 1533 espoused to Henry II. son of the said king, who came into this match in compliance with the instances of Clement VII. Francis the dauphin being poisoned in 1545, Henry, Catharine's husband, took the title of Dauphin, and succeeded his father in 1547. Aretin, in a letter to Catharine de Medicis, says, concerning Henry the Second's accession to the crown, *Non si vanti la Sorte d'averlo assunto in Ré con solemne misterio del Fato*. In this match Francis I. must have done no small violence to himself, if we may judge

by the style of a dispatch of the 15th of April, 1532, in answer to the proposal of pope Clement VII. of his sending to the emperor a powerful succour for the defence of Italy, then threatened by Soliman; at the same time exhorting him to make use of this opportunity of reconciling him to the emperor: "I would have the holy father know," said that prince, "that the king is neither a tradesman, nor a Florentine, nor so mean-spirited a creature, that ransoms, a prison, and other ill treatments, should cow him, and make him act beneath his duty, instead of stimulating him to resent such wrongs," (alluding to the manner by which Clement VII. who had been prisoner of Charles V. procured his discharge): "such a pusillanimity his holiness may keep to himself, and not disparage a king of France so far as to think he would do any thing like it: that, as for himself, he had never given offence to the emperor; but, on the contrary, he had received ample matter of offence from him; that, if our said holy father found the emperor to be in such a ferment, he might, if he pleased, be his physician, and give him rhubarb, or some such physic as he should think fit for mollifying and cooling him; for, as to his part, the said emperor might look out for other physicians than him; that he was none of his domestics, or retainers, so as to concern himself about curing his many ailments; and that he was very much surprised the holy father should think so slightly of him, as to make use of such words, &c. &c."

From the spirit and sharpness of this letter, one would have little thought, that the following year should

should see an alliance concluded between Francis I. and Clement VII.

It is to the Medicis, and the two popes of this house, that Florence owes those edifices and monuments which, distinguishing it from the other cities of Europe, raise it to a rivalry with the famous cities of ancient Greece.

Among the edifices of Florence, there are however some, which, though prior to the Medicis, may be looked on as preludes to the Florentine taste for fine performances. Such are, the church of St. Maria Novella, which, by reason of the airiness of the plan on which it was built in 1280, Michael Angelo used to call *La Sposa*, "The Bride;" the great church of the Holy Cross, built in 1294; that of the Trinity; that of Or-San-Michele, on the outside of which are fourteen niches, with statues all master-pieces by the greatest sculptors of Florence; lastly, the inward and outward decoration of the cathedral baptistery, and its bronze doors, which Michael Angelo said were fit to be the doors of Paradise. The first of these doors was finished and put up in 1330, by Ugolin di Pisa; and the two others in the following century, by Laurence Ghiberti of Florence, who, in the basso relievos, and other pieces of their accompaniments, has exhibited, both in the design and execution, a perfection which art has never since been able to surpass. Italy is full of Madonnas said to be done by angels. Had the workmanship of these gates been attributed to angels, the connoisseurs themselves, especially on comparing it with the taste of the age when it was performed, would have been the first to have believed the miracle.

The cathedral, the foundation of which was laid in 1296, faces the baptistery : its vastness, its height, its airiness, and withal its solidity, are not so much to be admired as its proportions, in the exquisiteness and propriety of which the architects of the thirteenth century have anticipated the revival of the arts. Its dome was the work of the following age, and is such a work, that from it Michael Angelo took his model of St. Peter's dome ; and the more admirable is this work, the dome being double, and constructed without a centre, or newel, and barely by means of a most ingenious scaffolding contrived by Brunellesco, who had planned this vast machine, and who finished it by methods purely his own, without any traditionary precedent or information.

The cupola was scarcely finished, when it raised in Paul Toscanelli, a Florentine physician, the notion of the first dial, performed by modern astronomy ; and the essay proved a master-piece : it is still the greatest monument of the kind in all Europe. This was likewise M. Condamine's opinion of it ; when at Florence he had urged the ministry to repair it ; the approximation of the ecliptic, and perhaps the sinking in of the cupola, having put it out of order. A Jesuit, to whom the repair was committed, had just published an account of his proceedings in a work printed at Florence in 1757.

Landini, in the *prolegomena* of his Commentary on Dante, speaks with the highest praise of two geometricians whom Florence produced so early as the fifteenth century. The name of both was Paul ; the first celebrated for *immortal* writings, which

which however are not to be found in any catalogue of books printed ; the second not less profound in the higher sciences than the other ; and being still living in the beginning of the sixteenth century, he never looked on him without a respectful complacency, as *una veneranda imagine d'antichità*.

The plan of Brunellesco's scaffolding is among the pieces inserted in the Life of the Senator Nelli, published by his son, at Florence, in 1753. This senator, who died in 1725, was likewise a great architect, and as such had a long time the superintendency of the cathedral. In the year 1692 some fissures were perceived in the calotte of the dome. The most famous architects in Italy, being consulted by the great duke Cosmo III. gave it as their opinion, that the calotte was greatly impaired, and to be secured only by girding it with strong iron chains. These were accordingly prepared with all expedition ; but Mr. Nelli having, under the authority of the celebrated Viviani, demonstrated that arcades like those of the dome were not liable to any lateral spread, and that their consistence depended on that of the foundations, the chains were laid aside as a mere dead weight, and only some slight covering put on the fissures, which were treated as an inconsiderable accident. The cathedral's great bell being broken in the time of Mr. Nelli's superintendency, he had it new cast, but without ears ; instead of which, it had a round aperture across its upper part, and fitted with a great iron pin. In this pin, from whence hangs the clapper, is fastened an iron hood, which bearing up the calotte, and the whole weight of the bell,

causes it to be easily turned about the clapper, without any need of dismounting it to vary the clapper's points of incidence.

This operation reminds me of two authenticated certificates, mentioned in the history of Mr. Nelli, from which it appears, that in 1658, one Joseph Farnetti mended cracked bells without casting them anew, so that they sounded *meglio che prima*, "better than at first."

The mentioning Mr. Nelli, farther puts me in mind of one of those structures, by which the Florentine architects had anticipated the revival of the arts; I mean the German mansion, which, to this day, is an ornament of the palace square. This mansion is very large, all of stone, and open towards the square, in arcades raised by a continued socle about four feet above the ground: it was built in 1355, under the inspection, and from a plan, of Andrea Orgagnia, who, in opposition to the ogives and tiers points usual at that time, gave his arcades wide openings. In the beginning of this century, the socle, warping from its perpendicular towards the square, was drawing the arcades, so that the whole mansion seemed in danger. The great duke, in 1715, was by all means for preventing it; and the architects could see no remedy but building it wholly a-new, the expence of which they estimated at thirty thousand livres. Mr. Nelli however, alarmed at such an expence, undertook to underpin the socle, to preserve the arcades, and bring them again to their perpendicular position. The great duke, knowing his probity and superior skill, set him to work; and the whole was happily

pily finished, in 1716, at the small expence of two thousand livres.

I come now to the monuments of the magnificence of the Medicis, and their judicious taste for all the fine arts ; mentioning however only those in which some particular circumstance struck me.

Of these the first is Donatello's *Judith*, standing under one of the arcades of the above-mentioned mansion, and by the Florentines called *Giulitta*. This exquisite piece is of bronze, and relates to the history of the Medicis, though, very probably, not set up by any of them. The Bithulian heroine is standing with a sabre raised up over Holofernes's throat: he lies as dead drunk, fallen down against a pedestal, round which is this inscription :

PUBLICÆ SALUTIS EXEMPLUM
CIV. POS.

I conclude from the inscription, that this monument was erected either before Cosmo de Medicis had seized on the government, or during his exile: but it is very strange, that, when the Medicis came to be fixed in the sovereignty, they allowed of such a monument, and with such an inscription; and that the people themselves never thought of paying their court to them, and manifesting their attachment, by pulling it down, or at least removing that perpetual signal to revolt and attempts on the sovereign's person. This forbearance of the Medicis may have proceeded from the reason, which induced them to prefer the modest title of Duchy to Kingdom, of which the opulence and
extent

extent of their dominions would have very well admitted. In the gallery of Pitti palace is to be seen the contre-part of this monument, an excellent head of Brutus by Michael Angelo, with this distich on the pedestal:

*Dum Bruti effigiem Michael de marmore fingit,
In mentem sceleris venit & abstinuit.*

Among the multitude of other masterly pieces in the palace square, I observed two colossal statues of white marble; one of Hercules engaged with Cacus, by Bandinelli; the other, by Michael Angelo, representing David making up to Goliath. These statues, though highly valued, are exposed to the injuries of the air, so that they are become unequally mouldy and rusty; which does not improve their appearance: but such is the respect of the Florentines for monuments of this kind, that the care, taken every spring in other places to have such statues, as stand in the open air, cleansed, rubbed, and scraped, they look upon as a kind of sacrilege.

The palace, in the court of which stand those of Hercules and David, affords several statues very highly finished, as Bandinelli's *Adam* and *Eve*, and a *Victory* by Michael Angelo.

The *Adam* and *Eve*, though larger than nature, and quite naked, were for above a century an altar-piece in the cathedral: in this the good people of those days saw no immodesty or indecency; but they having since been looked on with another eye, Cosmo III. ordered them to be removed.

Michael Angelo's *Victory*, a most expressive piece, though he did not put the finishing hand to it,

it, was designed for the tomb of Julius II. On seeing Michael Angelo's mausoleum, I could not but think that this *Victory*, crowning his bust, would have been a more suitable ornament to this mausoleum, than the three statues with which it has been decorated: they are indeed very correct, but something cold.

Without entering into any farther detail concerning the hundred and sixty public statues, (most of which, being distributed in the squares, in the streets, and on the bridges, entertain the stranger with a spectacle similar to that which the most flourishing cities of Greece exhibited to the Pausanias) I shall only observe, that these statues, though left open to the people, are respected by them as sacred; and this respect, which is inculcated from fathers to their children, has its rise in that taste which the custom of seeing fine things, and hearing them praised, naturally inspires.

This respect is seen at Florence even in the peasants, and the very lowest people, and thus supplies the place of rails, which in other countries can scarce secure the public monuments from that delight in mischief, particularly natural to children, and of which, in the commonalty, education seldom gets the better. The Centaur, for instance, a piece which may be compared to the most valuable remains of antiquity, stands in the centre of no spacious square, and where, two or three days in a week, a market is kept. Passing through it one morning in market-time, I asked a peasant why he did not make use of the pedestal of the statue to hook on it several small flat baskets of wares, with which he seemed pretty much incumbered.

Chiesa, volesse attribuirsi questo mio capriccio, come di molte altre mie invenzioni è accaduto, possi restare la testimonianza di persone maggiori, come io era stato il primo à sognare questa chimera. Questa che li mando è veramente una abbozzatura che fu da me frettolosamente scritta, mentre speravo che il Copernico non avesse, ottant' anni dopo la sua pubblicazione, ad esser condannato per erroneo : sicche avevo in pensiero di amplificarmi con maggior commodità e tempo, apportandone altri riscontri, riordinandolo e distinguendolo in altra migliore forma e disposizione. Ma una celeste voce mi risvegliò e risolvette in nebbia tutti li mei confusi ed avviluppati fantasmi, &c. i. e.

“ I happened to compose it whilst the thoughts of
 “ those reverend divines were taken up about
 “ suppressing Copernicus's book, and condemning
 “ the opinion of the motion of the earth, main-
 “ tained in the said book, and which, at that
 “ time, I held to be true : and those gentlemen
 “ were pleased to suppress the book, and declare
 “ the said opinion false, and repugnant to the holy
 “ scriptures. Sensible, at present, of the great
 “ duty and propriety of conforming to the deter-
 “ minations of our superiors, as guided by higher
 “ light and knowledge than my low genius can
 “ reach, I look on this composition, which I now
 “ send you, as only a fiction, or indeed a dream ;
 “ and as such your highness will receive it. How-
 “ ever, as poets sometimes place no little value on
 “ some of their figments, so I likewise found a com-
 “ placency in this trifle of mine. And as I had writ-
 “ ten it, and imparted it to cardinal Orsini and a few
 “ others, I afterwards gave a small number of co-
 “ pies of it to persons of rank, lest some, and they
 “ perhaps

“ perhaps dissident from our church, should be
“ for assuming this whim of mine to themselves,
“ as has been the case of many of my inventions.
“ Persons of rank can testify, that this chimera
“ was first hatched in my brain. This piece, which
“ I send your highness, is truly a sketch which I
“ wrote in haste, and when I hoped that Coperni-
“ cus’s book, fourscore years after the publica-
“ tion of it, would not have been condemned as
“ erroneous; so that I had some thoughts of be-
“ stowing more time on it, enlarging it with fresh
“ arguments, and digesting it into another form
“ and a better disposition; but, as it were, a
“ voice from heaven awakening me, all my
“ schemes and visions vanished into air,” &c.

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architecture. The plan was fixed on by old Cosmo de Medicis in the fifteenth century.

Florence every where exhibits ranges of palaces, which at first sight seem cast in the same mould. All the fronts perpendicular to the streets are, at the gates and windows, loaded with bossages; whilst the uppermost stories are only a plain wall, but with windows, in the chambranles and accompaniments of which the architects may be said to have emulated each other in art and proportions. Most of these architects being likewise sculptors, those parts were often master-pieces in a twofold respect. This masculine and correct taste derives both its rise and continuance at Florence from the tenacious attachment of the inhabitants to that order of architecture, which owes its origin and name to the ancient Tuscans: from it has been, and still daily is taken, whatever comports with the strictness of its proportions (*p*); and this strictness is a sure preservative against the presumptions, the freedoms, and caprices, to which the other orders can more easily be accommodated. The new fashion for ornaments, which we found on our return to prevail at Paris, under the name of the *Grecian taste*, is precisely, and in every particular, the manner of the Florentine architecture: the transition of the Parisians from the *chantourné* to the masculine and grave, may be accounted for by the sudden change of very large hats for very

(*p*) It was the same with the ancient Egyptians. “They loved,” says the great Bossuet, “a regularity absolutely plain. Is it not that nature of itself inclines us to simplicity, which is so hard to be recovered when the taste has been vitiated by novelties and capricious freedoms?” *Univ. Hist.*

small,

small. Now such periodical variations from white to black are unknown at Florence.

Painting there is subject to the like severity in the manner of handling the crayon and pencil, yet without excluding the national gaiety, which the Florentine painters have introduced into their performances even on devout subjects; and it is principally in the painting of convents, that the Florentine artists have allowed themselves the greatest liberties. In these pictures, in which a stranger sees only edifying stories, a Florentine, acquainted with tradition, discovers the secret history of the convent at the time when the painter was employed. There are few, who in these paintings do not meet with their neighbours, their friends, their cronies of both sexes, their mistresses, &c. Thus in one of the finest pieces in Holy Cross church, of the elder Bronzini, representing Jesus Christ drawing souls out of the *limbo*, he has introduced all his neighbourhood. The prettiest women among them were his models for holy virgins and holy women of the Old Testament, represented from head to foot in the state of nature (*q*). The capital part, that of Eve, is his mistress; and he himself is viewing her with a look of passion. This Bronzini is he who had a considerable hand in the collection of amorous poems, so well known in Italy by the name of *Opere Bernesche*. It must however be added, that, in the painting in which he has taken all these liberties, the expression of Adam, to whom Jesus

(*q*) Aretin, in Letter cxxxiii. Book v. tells us, that his mother, when young, had sat for a very fine Annunciation in St. Peter de Florence, or d'Arezzo.

Christ

Christ gives his hand, is quite sublime: the aspect, the air, the whole physiognomy of this general parent of mankind, speak shame, repentance, gratitude, confidence, and every sentiment under which his soul must have been labouring at that so long expected instant.

All Florence is filled with excellent pieces in this taste; most of them the manufacture of the country, that is, in general, more correct than agreeable; the design rather strong than pleasing, and wrought from those robust and vigorous persons, whom Michael Angelo had daily before his eyes, and which he had made the model of his performances (*r*).

In imitation of him, and even before him, the Florentine artists, being at the same time sculptors, architects, and often painters, but all eminent draughtsmen, had by the assemblage of these arts, and the knowledge particular to each of them, a facility, a correctness, an accuracy of sight, seldom obtained by the separate study of one of the three.

This learned school, like the schools of antiquity, owed its origin and progress to wealth and liberty. Florence, wanton with the riches accruing to it from trade, and an industry which declined no object of gain, set up for magnificence, and plunged herself in enjoyments. Jealous of her liberty even to rage, perpetually distracted at home

(*r*) Among the master-pieces of this kind, it gave me some displeasure to see several capital performances of Andrea del Sarto piled up in the apartments of Pitti palace; having, by order of the great dukes, been successively taken out of several churches, to which they were very valuable ornaments.

by that jealousy, and victorious abroad (*s*), she assumed the sentiments of her fortune: that desire of glory, which prompted her to great things, inspired her with a love of the beautiful, the sources of which she laid open to her artists. Opulence opened the workshops. Freedom, which naturally enlarges the ideas, elevates the soul, and increases its energy, warmed such geniuses as were born for arts: emulation, rivalry, and jealousy, did what remained. Every artist, being judged by his peers, improved by the discoveries, the faults, and works of his rivals. In this brilliant revolution, the analyses of arts, observations, dissertations, and such posthumous fruits of genius, had no share. The curious, the patrons, were great contributors, not pretending to advise the artists, but employing them; admiring, and not directing them. In a word, the most sublime arts, together with the most mechanical crafts, were created and improved by indefatigable hands, and not by idle reasoners.

The veneration of the Florentines for their great men contributed not a little to make them such. Florence is full of monuments consecrated to their memory, both by the sovereigns and private persons. I shall give a short account of those which came in my way.

The house built by the celebrated Vincent Viviani, in the neighbourhood of S. Maria Novella,

(*s*) In the history of Florence, says Varchi, we meet with *tutte quelle varietà ed accidenti che in un Popolo non meno ambizioso e sottile che avaro, ne meno ricco che nobile ed industrioso, possono occorrere*, “all these vicissitudes and incidents which can fall out among a people no less ambitious and subtle, than avaricious, and equally rich, splendid, and ingenious.”

is a monument of his gratitude towards Galileo, whose last pupil he was, as he used every where to call himself. In the front of the house is a bronze bust of this restorer of the sublime sciences; and scrolls in the outward piers, between the casements, shew the detail and epochas of those admirable discoveries with which he has enriched those sciences. Viviani's gratitude went still farther: on his substituting, by his will, his disciple the senator Nelli joint executor to the abbé Panzanini his nephew, whom he made his heir, he appointed a magnificent mausoleum, suitable to his regard, to be erected to his master, which was performed in 1733.

This monument, which stands in Holy Cross church, fronting Michael Angelo's mausoleum, and was executed in marble from a drawing of Julius Foggini, is a large sarcophagus surmounted with a bust of Galileo, excellently wrought by John Foggini: Astronomy and Geometry, both bigger than nature; the former, executed by Vincent Foggini (*t*), and the other, by Jerome Ticciati, stand on each end of the sarcophagus (*u*).

The

(*t*) To this family the republic of letters is indebted for the abbé Foggini, one of the sub-librarians in the Vatican, known by the Medicis edition of Virgil, and other works translated into French from editions published by him according to Vatican manuscripts.

(*u*) In the same church lies buried the famous St. Antonine. Among the paintings representing his miracles, I met with one something singular, and which I had before seen in a little church at Dijon. The archbishop is holding a balance: in one of the scales is a basket of fruit, and in the other a bit of paper with *Deo gratias* written on it: aside
stands

The execution of Viviani's intentions had been intermitted by a difficulty consecutive to those which had disturbed Galileo's life and studies. This truly philosophic man, if ever mortal could claim that title, had undergone all the persecutions and molestations, which ever have been the portion of men superior to their times (*w*). His works had been condemned by the inquisition, and he himself thrown into the prison of that dreadful tribunal, where he remained about six years; and at length, to obtain his release, was compelled to abjure what all the world now believes and maintains, the motion of the earth round the sun (*x*). After surviving this misfortune eighteen years, he died in 1642, aged seventy-eight. His labours, his discoveries, the eminent merit of the greater part of his disciples, the favour with which his sovereign honoured him, his very sufferings, were of no avail for the tranquil-

stands a peasant in a stupid amazement. The story is this: A peasant brought a basket of fruit to St. Antonine; but, instead of a good equivalent, which he expected, St. Antonine only said to him, *Deo gratias*: the peasant fell a muttering, that he could not live by *Deo gratias*, and it was not equal to his fruit. St. Antonine, to shew him the worth and weight of it, ordered a pair of scales to be brought, in which the *Déo gratias* made his fruit kick the beam.

(*w*) *Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes*
Infra se positas. Horat.

(*x*) He was hunted out, and tried at the inquisition at Rome, who threw him into prison. Florence had then, and still has, only one Franciscan for its inquisitor, to whom the emperor, since his being sovereign of Tuscany, has added some counsellors of the regency; without whose concurrence the Franciscan cannot act. The inquisitors of Rome had Galileo's affair brought before them, as of very high moment.

lity of his latter years. I have seen in Mr. Nelli's library the originals of letters and instruments, by which it appears that monks, priests, and prelates, inveighed against him from the pulpit. It was even debated, whether he could dispose of his goods by will, and whether the church ought to allow him ecclesiastical burial. The latter article had been decided in the negative; and accordingly, on his death, he had been buried as a heretic, strongly suspected of relapsing, in profane ground, facing the gate of the Dominican novitiate, in St. Mark's square.

Viviani stood in need of all the weight accruing to him from the esteem of Lewis XIV. and the pension with which that prince honoured him, to dare undertake erecting to his master, in the middle of Florence, the monument above mentioned. The mausoleum directed by his will met with the greatest opposition: it was decided by grave divines, that the very utmost which could be allowed was the removing of Galileo's bones into holy ground; but there to be left, without any honour or distinction. I have seen the original of the consultation on this head. The abbé Panzani, Viviani's heir, endeavoured, but without effect, to overcome that difficulty. Mr. Nelli's executors were obliged to use all their interest, and even juridical means, by which they at length prevailed, and, after taking up what remained of Galileo, deposited him in the mausoleum.

The only monument of theological hatred against this great philosopher, is now the Index of Prohibited Books, which was renewed and corrected, in 1758, by Benedict XIV. The Dialogue, in which

which lay his capital crime, is again proscribed (y) without any lenitive.

It would be a mistake, to imagine that Galileo had drawn such persecution on himself by indiscretion, pride, and fallies of defiance. That he may be tried on his own writings, I shall insert, from the original, part of the letter he wrote, in 1618, to archduke Leopold, along with the first telescope he had invented, and a memoir on the causes of the tides according to the Copernican system, which was afterwards condemned by the inquisition. Touching this memoir he says, *Mi è occorso di farlo mentre che frà questi Signori Teologi si andava pensando intorno alla proibizione del libro di Nic. Copernico, e della opinione della mobilità della terra posta in detto libro e da me creduta per vera in quel tempo: si chè piacque a questi signori di sospendere il libro e dichiarare per falsa e repugnante à le scritture sacre, la detta opinione. Hora, perche io so quanto convenga ubidire e credere alle determinazioni de' superiori come quelli che sono scorti da più alte cognizioni, alle quali la bassezza del mio ingegno per se stesso non arriva, reputo questa presente scrittura, che gli mando, come una Poesia ovvero un sogno, e per tale la riceva l'Altezza Vostra. Tuttavia, perche anco i Poeti apprezzano talvolte alcuna delle loro fantasie, io parimente fo qualche stima di questa mia vanità. E giache mi ritrovavo averla scritta & lasciatala vedere dal Cardinale Orsino e da alcuni altri pochi, ne ho poi lasciato andare alcune copie in mano di altri Signori Grandi; e questo, affincbe, in ogni evento, che altri, forse separato della nostra*

(y) Together with the works of Bacon, Copernicus, Kepler, Descartes, and Foscarini.

Chiesa, volesse attribuirsi questo mio capriccio, come di molte altre mie invenzioni è accaduto, possi restare la testimonianza di persone maggiori, come io era stato il primo à sognare questa chimera. Questa che li mando è veramente una abbozzatura che fu da me frettolosamente scritta, mentre speravo che il Copernico non avesse, ottant' anni dopo la sua pubblicazione, ad esser condannato per erroneo : sicche avevo in pensiero di amplificarmi con maggior commodità e tempo, apportandone altri riscontri, riordinandolo e distinguendolo in altra migliore forma e disposizione. Ma una celeste voce mi risvegliò e risolvette in nebbia tutti li mei confusi ed avviluppati fantasmi, &c. i. e.

“ I happened to compose it whilst the thoughts of
 “ those reverend divines were taken up about
 “ suppressing Copernicus's book, and condemning
 “ the opinion of the motion of the earth, main-
 “ tained in the said book, and which, at that
 “ time, I held to be true : and those gentlemen
 “ were pleased to suppress the book, and declare
 “ the said opinion false, and repugnant to the holy
 “ scriptures. Sensible, at present, of the great
 “ duty and propriety of conforming to the deter-
 “ minations of our superiors, as guided by higher
 “ light and knowledge than my low genius can
 “ reach, I look on this composition, which I now
 “ send you, as only a fiction, or indeed a dream ;
 “ and as such your highness will receive it. How-
 “ ever, as poets sometimes place no little value on
 “ some of their figments, so I likewise found a com-
 “ placency in this trifle of mine. And as I had writ-
 “ ten it, and imparted it to cardinal Orsini and a few
 “ others, I afterwards gave a small number of co-
 “ pies of it to persons of rank, lest some, and they
 “ perhaps

“ perhaps dissident from our church, should be
“ for assuming this whim of mine to themselves,
“ as has been the case of many of my inventions.
“ Persons of rank can testify, that this chimera
“ was first hatched in my brain. This piece, which
“ I send your highness, is truly a sketch which I
“ wrote in haste, and when I hoped that Coperni-
“ cus’s book, fourscore years after the publica-
“ tion of it, would not have been condemned as
“ erroneous; so that I had some thoughts of be-
“ stowing more time on it, enlarging it with fresh
“ arguments, and digesting it into another form
“ and a better disposition; but, as it were, a
“ voice from heaven awakening me, all my
“ schemes and visions vanished into air,” &c.

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and beauty. An original letter from Bruzzini to Varchi, in Magliabechi's library, relates, that as Bruzzini was returning from Rome with Machiavel, they were told of Savonarola's being put to death ; and that Machiavel thereupon cried out, *Non sapeva il povero uomo che gli profeti disarmati capitano tutti male*, &c. "The poor man did not know that all prophets, if not seconded by arms, come to an unfortunate end," &c. I have read elsewhere, that Savonarola, challenging, in full senate, one of his adversaries to pass through a large fire with him, that it might be seen, by a divine judgment, which side was in the right ; a senator, John Canacci by name, moved, that it would be better to make the trial in a large vessel full of water, as attended with no danger ; and the miracle would not be less decisive in favour of him who should come out without being wetted.

The cathedral's steeple, built from a design of Giotto, is at the lower part adorned with four statues of Donatello, representing four eminent persons his cotemporaries, whose names however are lost. That of a little bald-headed old man, he always looked on as his master-piece ; and indeed it wants only speech.

The walls along both sides of the nave of the cathedral are, like those of the Pritaneum of Athens, covered with portraits, epitaphs, and inscriptions, in honour of persons distinguished in arts, arms, and literature, though the greater part of them be not buried in the church. On one side is a marble bust of Brunellesco, who was the architect in building the dome. Next to that,
the

the picture of Giotto, with two panegyrics, in one of which, by Politianus, is this fine verse :

Naturæ deerat nostræ quod defuit arti.

Then some inscriptions in honour of generals, who distinguished themselves in the service of the republic : and this respectable file is closed by the busto of Marcilius Ficinus, the reviver of the Platonic philosophy. The opposite side exhibits the portraits of warriors, and that of Dante by Giotto his cotemporary, whose talents occasioned that fine reflexion which the poet has introduced in the eleventh Canto of his *Purgatory*.

*O vana gloria dell' humane posse,
Com' poco verde in su la cima dura,
Se non è giunta dall' etati grosse !
Credette Cimabue nella pintura
Tener lo campo ; ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Si che la fama di colui oscura.
Così ha tolto l'uno all' altro Guido
La gloria della lingua ; e forse è nato
Chi l'uno e l'altro cacerà di nido.*

This portrait of Dante is an homage which the republic of Florence, by a public decree, paid to the memory of one whom it had banished, and who died in exile*. The decree even ordered, that out of the public money should be erected to him, in the cathedral, *Et in luogo honorato, un marmoreo, et artificiosamente sculto sepulchro, con quelle statue e segni che lo potessero rendere ornatissimo*, i. e. “ and in some honourable place, a marble

* See the article of FERRARA.

“ tomb, of a fine sculpture, and with statues and
 “ emblems, so as to render it a very ornamental
 “ piece.” This we are informed of by Landini
 in his *prolegomena* on Dante’s poem, where he
 strongly urges the execution of the decree in every
 point.

To this poet Florence has paid a farther mark
 of respect, by instituting in its university a professor-
 ship, whose province is to explain his work, the pub-
 lic veneration for which seems to have been height-
 ened by its antiquated style and obscure phrases.

This regard of the Florentines is the more
 estimable, as having prevailed over their personal
 reasons for resentment against a poem, which, in
 the author’s intention, was a downright satire on the
 government and its principal members, and a
caricatura of the manners of his compatriots of
 both sexes. This was doubtless his meaning in
 giving his poem the name of a *Comedy*; whereas
 he calls Virgil’s *Æneid* a *Tragedy*, though his
 argument be infinitely more tragical than that of
 the *Æneid*.

Hell, of which he had composed the seven first
 cantos before his banishment, certainly contri-
 buted no less to it, than the haughtiness (x) with
 which he rejected the public’s choice of him for
 an embassy to Boniface VIII. It is highly probable,
 that this beginning of his work had transpired. He
 finished it in his exile, with the addition of *Purgatory*
 and *Paradise*, which, from a necessity of employ-
 ing himself, he added to his first plan, without
 departing from his original intention, which he

(x) *S’io vo*, answered he, *chi sta: s’io sto, chi va*.

carefully concealed under a multitude of theological and mystical questions.

The part of the convent of St. Laurence, which makes the first lobby to the Medicean library, is decorated with a marble statue of the famous historian Paulus Jovius, as big as life, and by Francesco San-Gallo, one of the first masters of the Florentine school. In the front of Guicchar-dini, now Altoviti palace, are fifteen pilasters, each bearing a busto in the manner of the ancient *Hermeses*. Each of these bustos represents some illustrious Florentine. On the ground floor stand five lawyers, philosophers, or *litterati*: the first story is filled by five historians; and in the second are seen five poets, or polite writers; Dante, Petrarch, Boccacio, Monsignor de la Casa, and Lewis Alamani.

The office-palace, where the several courts are held, and which was built by the great Cosmo I. from a plan of the celebrated Vasari, has niches in all its piers, where the grand duke intended to set up statues of the most celebrated Florentines. His death defeated so commendable a scheme, and the niches remain void.

Galileo's tomb is not the only proof of the Florentines constant regard for the glory of their worthies. In Magliabechi's library is a marble busto of its founder, very well executed, and said to be a perfect likeness: it looks however to be rather the jole of some wild beast than the head of a man; though, amidst all the hideousness of its features, the countenance is full of expression.

The above monument is of our times, together with that erected by the marquis Nicolini to

M. Joseph Avarani, one of the most learned lawyers whom the university of Pisa ever produced, and whose works are not inferior to those of Cujas himself, uniting the embellishments of philology, the gravity of history, the rigour of criticism, and the precision of the higher sciences, with a profound knowledge of the Roman laws, and of their analogy with the law of nature and of nations. He had been the marquis's preceptor; and his grateful pupil has consecrated his image in the convent of Santa Croce in an excellent marble medallion, which struck me the more, as at the very first sight it shews the face, features, and every particular of Mr. Voltaire, so that no picture was ever so like him, as he is to this medallion.

The marquis Nicolini has carried his acknowledgements still farther. On the 18th of April, 1745, he delivered, before the academy de la Crusca, a panegyric on his master, containing forty quarto pages of letter-press.

To this account of the monuments (*a*) which gratitude has erected to merit, I must add,

I. That which decorates the porch of the hospital of S. Maria Nuova. The first thought of this

(*a*) Among the ways of perpetuating the memory of its great men, it will readily be thought, that Florence has not omitted epitaphs: but I shall only set down that on Varchi, as both true, and well expressed.

D. O. M.

BENED. VARCHIO, POETÆ, PHILOSOPHO, HISTORICO,
QUI CUM ANN. LXIII.

SUMMA ANIMI LIBERTATE,

SINE ULLA AVARITIA AUT AMBITIONE VIXISSET,

OBIIT NON INVITUS,

XVI. KAL. DECEMB. M.DC.LXVI.

foundation

foundation for the relief of distress was owing to an aged servant maid, who laid it before a rich widow of the Portinari family, with whom she lived. The widow closed with the proposal, and immediately employed part of her estate in beginning to carry it into execution (*b*), publicly owning that it was the solicitations of her maid which had brought her to this disposal of her fortune. On the death of the old servant, the directors of this foundation buried her in their church, under a white marble tomb-stone, on which was her image in relieve: but this in time wearing away by the continual friction of feet, it has been removed, and set in the porch-wall of the house.

2. The image of a mule, at the end of the portico which forms the ground floor of Pitti palace, with a distich on the base, importing that the mule represented by that statue served with remarkable vigour and diligence in building the palace, being never backward to whatever service it was put to. Of this kind is another inscription, consecrated by a Venetian, in one of the quays along the Arno, to the memory of a horse killed under him at the siege of Florence in the sixteenth century. Such monuments however are in some degree culpable, if excess of gratitude can be so; though their founders may indeed plead the example of the Egyptians, Athenians, and of the emperor Adrian, who, according to Spartian, was so fond of his horses and dogs, as to erect monuments to them.

It is from this perpetual regard to posterity, that the Florentines have for some centuries past invented a way for the preservation of those instru-

(*b*) In 1290.

ments, which relate to the substance and ranks of the citizens, the want of which reflects an air of barbarism on the most civilized northern countries.

For such instruments there are two repositories ; one, in the neighbourhood of the palace above the church of Or-San-Michele ; the other, in the vast apartments over the new market built in 1548, and in that part of the city which the Arno separates from the palace.

Every fourth year, the notaries of the city of Florence and all the Tuscan territories are obliged to deliver in, at the first of these repositories, a duplicate of all their instruments. On the death of a notary, his *Protocol*, bound, numbered and signed, is transmitted to that in the new market. Thus, by means of the distance of the two repositories, the choice of insulated places for them, and the most scrupulous precautions against any accident by fire, Florence has authenticated duplicates of all instruments and writings of any concern to society ; and in case one of the repositories should be totally burned down, it would not affect the public.

The order in these repositories is excellently adapted to the ends of their establishment : each has a double repertory ; one of matters, the other of names ; and by means of these repertories, if a pedigree is to be drawn up, however long and complex, it is but one morning's work, and stands good in courts of law, on a bare certificate given by the minute-keeper who makes out the duplicate. With the like ease are procured juridical vouchers on all matters, where a recourse to instruments is necessary.

necessary. The finding of every instrument being very easy, and soon dispatched, the fee for the certificate is very small; but this is made up to the minute-keepers from the prodigious multitude of consultations, occasioned by the facility of being satisfied. Every private person, when he wants a connected indication of those very vouchers which are in his possession, immediately repairs to the repository. In a word, this double repository is a public sanctuary, and a common record-office, where all families and every citizen have authenticated vouchers of their possessions and stations.

Whatever relates to the titles of families, is preserved with no less care. The several quarters, and most of the streets of the city of Florence, still bear the name of the first families who lived in them. The palaces unalterably retain the names of those who built them; and to the second and third possessors they are, in some measure, but as inns. The manner of denoting is thus: *Palazzo di tal, poi di tal, oggi di tal*, i. e. "The palace of such a one, afterwards such a one's, at present such a one's." This attention reaches to all monuments of the first owners; so that a front with their coat of arms on it cannot be pulled down, even though the second owner should intend to build a new front on a larger plan, unless he take care that the new front shall be in the best manner, agreeable to the former. A very striking proof of the power of laws and custom, in this respect, is Pitti palace: this immense building, of which the palace of Luxemburg at Paris is a copy, has for above two hundred years belonged

to the house of Medicis, and been the mansion of all the Great Dukes, yet without any alteration of the name; it is still Pitti palace.

By means of these precautions for the preservation of family monuments and vouchers, the descent of the nobility of Florence is perhaps, of all countries in Europe, the best ascertained, some houses excepted, which avail themselves of their antiquity to derive their origin so far back as Charlemagne. Every one knows the beginning and rise of each, and the different degrees of aggrandizement, splendor, and declension, which it has gone through. From these common notions it is, that Landini, in his notes on the sixteenth canto of Dante's *Paradise*, has given a large account of the ancient houses of Florence, even so far as specifying the quarters where stood their principal residence. Accordingly it is to Florence that all the favourites of fortune in Italy, go to look out for ancestors of repute. A resemblance of name immediately concludes these contracts, where both sides are gainers. This is matter of laughter at Florence; but the adopted Florentine, in his own country, plumes himself with a botched genealogy, in which the seams are not visible to every eye.

In the best days of the republic of Florence, trade, banking, and ever-active industry, were the nurture and support of the nobility. Old Cosmo de Medicis came to be the chief man in the state, because he was the first trader and the first banker of Florence, if not of all Europe. Peter his son, and Laurence his grandson, continued trade and banking. All the public and private edifices

edifices of any note were built by merchants, and the greater part of them members of the *Arte della Lana*, or woollen trade. To this manufacture the republic of Florence chiefly owed its grandeur, and all its noble and ornamental undertakings. The names of the houses which were at the head of the paper trade, the linen, wood, tile, cheese, and coal trades, still subsist. In a word, N. Capponi, who, not longer ago than the sixteenth century, was Gonfalonier, and the first man in the republic then newly formed by the Florentines, during the imprisonment of Clement VII. *non aveva mai, non che lasciata, intermessa la mercatura*, “so far from going out of trade, never intermitted trading.” See the end of the ninth book of Varchi’s history.

The permanency of the sovereignty in the Medicis family, and the alliances with German and Spanish princesses, gave a turn to their ideas of commerce. In imitation of the sovereign, the most opulent houses went out of trade, quitted manufactures, and preferred chivalry to wealth acquired and perpetuated by industry. In order to secure their commercial gains to their descendants, they availed themselves of the liberty allowed by the ancient Roman laws, to make perpetual and gradual intails *ad infinitum*; so that the relations did not succeed to the intails, as in common successions, but as in the order prescribed by the testator, which thus remained a perpetual law to his family. Cosmo I. opened a resource to younger brothers in the order of St. Stephen: the church offered others to those who would

would enter into holy orders. Many went abroad, and rose to considerable fortunes. Still population was on the ebb; and Florence's whole wealth not only was in the hands of a few houses, but by law incommunicable to new-raised families. Since the emperor's becoming sovereign of Tuscany, he has, agreeably to Justinian's law, reduced entails to four degrees. What is to be expected from this new arrangement? *Ipsi viderint.*

Villani lays open to us a main spring of the primitive riches of the Florentines in their way of living (*c*) in the thirteenth century: *Vivevano sobri, says he, e di grosse vivande, e con piccole spese, e molti costumi grossi e rudi; e di grossi panni vestivano loro e loro donne. Molti portavano le pelle scoperte senza panno e con berrete in capo, e tutti con usatti in piede:* "They lived soberly, and with little
 "expendence: their common fare was butchers
 "meat; and many of their ways were homely,
 "and quite unpolished: both they and their wives
 "wore coarse stuffs, many round caps on their
 "heads, but all wore spatterdashies." He adds, that a hundred livres was a creditable portion, and three hundred a fortune; and that daughters were never married till past their twentieth year, being at that age acquainted with all the parts of housewifery: *Con la loro grossa vita e povertà, faccienno maggiori piu virtudiose cose, che non sono fatte à tempi nostri, con più morbidezza e con più ricchezza.* "Amidst this poverty and coarse way of living,
 "they performed greater things, in the way of the
 "fine arts, than are done in our time, with all its

(*c*) Concerning this see Canto XV. and XVI. of Dante's *Paradise*.

"luxury

“luxury and riches.” They were free; and, as among the first Romans, if individuals were poor, the republic was opulent:

*Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum.*

It was people living and clothed as above, who conquered Tuscany, and embellished Florence with so many stately and useful edifices.

The decrease of wealth has gradually brought Florence to its ancient temperance, and all the parsimony of the thirteenth century. Since its no longer being the residence of a sovereign, or court, luxury has been superseded by a modest plainness in clothing; and some persons in very good circumstances, as at Rome, even wear an ecclesiastical garb, though not belonging to the church.

As to their table, I have often heard Lombards with a sneer extol the Florentine suppers, which, say they, consist of a few salad-leaves, gathered by the guests themselves in pots standing at the window, and garnished with a little wild endive. I have dined at some houses in Florence, where, besides plenty and goodness, every thing was served up extremely neat; the wine excellent; and what improved the relish of the whole, was that festivity inherent in the Florentines. I must farther add, that, in the whole course of our travels, we never found an inn where we fared so well, were so well attended, and the bills so reasonable, as at Florence: an evident proof of the plenty, and perhaps of the superabundance of provisions.

Part of our evenings we used to spend at a coffee-house, among persons whose acquaintance was of

great use to us, and whom it was highly entertaining to see together. They divert themselves with banTERS of all kinds, giving and taking very genteelly. The celebrated Dr. Lami, the greatest scholar in all Tuscany, used to come in for his share, both actively and passively, as if raillery had been the sole business of his life.

Portions of young women are not yet reduced to what they were in the thirteenth century : I however knew a Florentine, a man of family and reputation, who chose to marry on the ancient footing, saying he was for being master at home.

The theatres at Florence, as in the other parts of Italy, are a party matter. It has two droll-opera houses, which as rivals strive to surpass each other ; and an Italian play-house, the harlequin of which was a creditable shopkeeper dealing in all kinds of millinery ware. Mademoiselle Radicati, one of the first dancers in Italy, gave us an opportunity of paying tribute to Florence, which we did by a glee addressed to her in the name of a doctor, who was one of the retinue of some abbots of the first distinction, returning from the conclave. It was a dozen of verses, none of the best, but the softest our muse could produce.

Mentioning verses puts me in mind of a conversation with a Florentine noble, a man of taste, and who, though he had never been at Paris, spoke better French than I, and was thoroughly acquainted with the best French books. I was lamenting to him my leaving Italy, without having ever been able to enter into the measure, the energy, and the harmony of Italian poetry. "The like reproach," answered he, "lies against me
" with

“ with regard to French poetry : Chapelain’s, Brebeuf’s, Racine’s, Rousseau’s verses, those of *La Pucelle*, *Zara*, &c. are all alike to my ear ; not the least difference does it perceive in them. To me it is only so much rhyming “ prose.”

During our stay at Florence, the Arno, swelled by rains and the waters of the Chiana, which the old Romans divided between the Arno and the Tiber, overflowed up to the first story of some of the houses. It was a general desolation : the bale goods in the custom-house, and in many warehouses, floated ; boats were dispatched with provisions to those parts which had been surprised by the inundation : yet such damages were but slight, in comparison to what the country suffered ; dung-hills, cattle, trees, and wrecks of houses, driving down the Arno. On the ebbing away of the waters, the lower streets, and the courts of the houses in them, were covered with an ochreous sediment three or four inches deep. Florence, we were told, is subject to this calamity about once in twenty years ; though, in all ages, a thousand projects have been proposed for preventing or diminishing it. The only certain remedy is, to deepen the Arno’s bed along the whole course of it, from Florence to the sea : its bed has risen above six feet since the dispute in Tiberius’s time, between the inhabitants of Rome and those of Tuscany ; the subject, particulars, and result of which, may be seen in M. Fontenelle’s Elogium of Viviani.

This inundation occasioned great repairs to be made in the damaged houses, without respecting the coarse red crosses with which the fock towards

the street, of almost all the buildings in Florence, is daubed. The only drift of these crosses is, to restrain passengers in a city, where the air is no less diuretic than it is anodyne at Naples. This old custom at Florence clears up Aretine's jest in his comedy del Marescalco: *Che un Cavaliere senza entrata, é un muro senza croci, scompisciato da ognuno.* "That a gentleman without a fortune is, like a wall without a cross, pissed upon by every body." And this joke he repeats in a letter to the bishop of Vaïson, September 17, 1530.

In Leandro Alberti's Account of Illustrious Florentines, I was surpris'd at his sedulity to introduce a great number of Thomists, Scotists, and the like, doctors now quite forgotten; and yet not a single word for the *venerable* and *learned* Boccaccio, as Brantome styles him. He has been more mindful of Machiavel, whom he mentions as author of the History of Florence, of the Life of Castruccio, of the Prince, *con molte altre degne opere*; "with many other excellent works." But the same Brantome used ironically to call him the *venerable preceptor of princes and men in power*. Some particulars of his life, which I collected at Florence, are as follow.

He was born in that city on the 3d of May, 1469. His father was Bernardo, doctor of laws; and Bartholomea, daughter of Stephen Nelli, his mother. He lost his father in his seventeenth year. The greater part of his youth he spent as clerk under Marcello Vergilio Adriani, secretary to the republic of Florence. He was at Nantz in Britany in 1501, and in the following year married Marietta Corsini, Lewis's daughter, by whom he had several

several children. In 1520, he succeeded Adriani as secretary to the republic. In 1527, he was dismissed from this post, and died the twenty-second of June the same year. His *Prince*, which was published at Rome in 1515, under the inspection and privilege of Leo X. and dedicated to Laurence de Medicis duke of Urbino, was not put into the *Index Expurgatorius* till the pontificate of Clement VIII. His other works were posthumous. The comedy of *La Sporta*, which appeared in Gelli's name, is attributed to him. M. Nelli told me he had some *discorsi* of Machiavel's on Cæsar's Commentaries, after the manner of those written by him on Livy. Both Machiavel and Boccace are the less to be omitted among illustrious Florentines, the Florentine disposition being a mixture of those two authors.

To Galileo, a Florentine, Europe owes the renewal of that philosophy, the first tracks of which had been opened to the Greeks of Ionia and Italy by Thales and Pythagoras; and, like those sages, he became the head of a school, which at present obtains in all the scientific academies. It was concentrated, during twenty years, in the society formed in 1650 by the great duke Ferdinand, and which afterwards was modelled into the academy *del Cimento*, instituted in 1657, by cardinal Leopold de Medicis. The works and discoveries of this academy are known among all the learned world. It originally consisted of seven members, most of them Galileo's pupils.

Paul del Buono, president of the imperial mint, was the author of the experiments on the compressibility of water, and introduced into Tuscany the

Egyptian manner of hatching chickens by means of artificial and graduated heat.

Candido del Buono his brother, priest of Stephen's at Campoli, invented the air-pump, and another machine for measuring and comparing the evaporations of various fluids.

Alexander Marfigli, professor of philosophy in the university of Pisa.

Vincent Viviani, a panegyric of whom may be seen among those of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, spoken by M. Fontenelle.

Francis Redi, known by several volumes of great erudition, employed himself chiefly in extracting salts from the ashes of vegetables.

Count Lorenzo Magalotti, secretary to the academy.

Abbé Antony Oliva, a Calabrian, quitted Florence, and went to Rome, where he practised physic, and became first physician to Clement IX. but being afterwards implicated in Monsignor Gabrieli's affair, he was apprehended by the Holy Office, and died in prison.

John Alfonso Borelli, a Neapolitan, known by his works, and disputes with Viviani, and among these who laboured most for the improvement and honour of the academy.

Count Charles Rinaldini, of Ancona.

With those who had a share in the labours of this society may be classed Dominic Cassini, Nicholas Stenon, and M. Auzout; whom attachment to the higher sciences drew from France, and detained a long time in Italy.

The inquiries and discoveries of Don Benedetto Castelli, Evangelista Torricelli, and Nicholas Aggiunti,

Aggiunti, Galileo's first pupils, belong in some measure to this society, in the labours of which they would have assisted along with their acquaintance and fellow-pupils, had not their death been prior to its establishment.

This account of the academy *del Cimento* I owe to Mr. Nelli, who has since published it himself in a quarto pamphlet of one hundred and forty pages, called *Saggio di Storia Litteraria Fiorentina nel secolo xvii.* He it was who erected to Galileo the monument of which I have given an account. He is possessed of a prodigious quantity of letters and small pieces of that great man, not yet printed, and which he intends to publish with his life, digested from the information contained in that philosopher's works, and his correspondence with all the learned of his time. Such a collection may well excite impatience for its publication.

Without the most remote intention to derogate from Galileo's reputation, as esteemed the Thales of the philosophic school of Florence, I take the liberty to say that he would possibly be only its Anaxagoras, were the origin of it carried up to the first of those two Pauls, of whom I have spoken from Landini, concerning the meridian of Florence cathedral: this gnomon, which fixed the attention, and soon raised the admiration, of such a judge as M. de la Condamine, who declared it the greatest performance of the kind at present in Europe, bespeaks, in him who undertook and executed it, a judgment, knowledge, and talents, the more wonderful, as far superior to the age in which he lived: *exortus uti æthereus sol.* If such a man has traced the various sciences implied in such a

work, up to their source ; if of himself he has supplied the instructions of antiquity, which in his time lay still buried ; if he has anticipated the experiments which have led after-ages to processes demanding no less genius than precision ; if he has left works, if he has formed disciples (and all this Landini assures us he has done) ; he must, as prior to Galileo, be acknowledged the head of the Florentine philosophic school.

Few are so well qualified as M. Nelli to make the Florentines acquainted with the disciples, the labours, and discoveries, of their illustrious countryman. Galileo's glory will not be in the least obscured by sharing Paul's ; and that of Florence will receive a new irradiation.

In my account of the foregoing particulars, I cannot be chargeable with any breach of the esteem, respect, and veneration, which a view of them inspires ; yet am I far from having come up to the sentiments of the Florentines for whatever belongs to their country. In this they are downright Athenians : Florence, in their estimate, is to Europe what Isocrates, in his famous panegyric, makes Athens to the rest of Greece. The finest performances of all kinds they see in their city ; what other parts afford is mere awkwardness and barbarism : they have created, they have invented, contrived, discovered, and made every thing. In their ancestors this was a commendable pride, as the principle of their many beautiful and grand performances.

Among other instances of foreign barbarism, they make themselves very merry with the behaviour of Don Carlos's confessor at the door of the
Medicean

Medicean library. This confessor, a Cordelier, attended the young prince when he went to take possession of the Tuscan dominions. Being the only person in the suite, the cut of whose vesture promised some scholarship, the librarians concluding he must long to see one of the most splendid monuments, which the munificence of princes has dedicated to literature, immediately waited on him with a very respectful invitation. He received the compliment tolerably well, and a day was fixed. The director had got together all the most eminent scholars in the city; and the confessor, after partaking of a very genteel collation, moved towards the library, followed by such a respectable company. On coming to the door, he stopped, and gazing round the ample salon, he called out to the director, "Mr. librarian, have you got the "book of the Seven Trumpets here?" The director made answer in the negative; and the whole company owned, with some confusion, that they knew nothing of such book. "Well, then," said the confessor, turning back, "your whole library is "not worth a pipe of tobacco." No time was lost to get an account of this book, which was found to be a collection of pious stories, all manifestly apocryphal, and put into Spanish by a Franciscan, for the use of the very lowest people.

It is from an attachment to all the traditions of their ancestors, that the Florentines still retain the guttural pronunciation, changing C into an H strongly aspirated, and which was so peculiar to Florence, even in Dante's time, that he said the people in the other world knew him to be a Florentine by the rattling in his throat. To judge of
this

this affectation from the rules laid down by Cicero* for pronunciation, one readily perceives in it those *sonos asperos, anhelatos, vastos, hiulcos*, which, says he, *quosdam delectant, quo magis antiquitatem retinere videantur*. The Roman pronunciation, to which Cicero was for having the orator form himself, had even in those days the *suavitatem pressam, æquabilem, lenem, in qua nihil offendi, nihil displicere, nihil animadverti poterat, nihil sonare aut olere peregrinum*. These passages may serve as a comment to the trite proverb, *Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana*.

The trade at Florence is at present reduced to an extreme low ebb, in comparison to what it was formerly. *L'arte della lana*, or the woollen manufactory, to which Florence owes the greater part of its opulence and splendor, now scarcely supplies the common people. As to all the apparel for ornament or service, that is intirely English cloth.

Of silk Tuscany produces an immense quantity, which, though of such an excellent quality, was exported raw. The regency however, to keep such a valuable commodity at Florence, and thus encourage industry, has prohibited that exportation. Accordingly, former manufactures are revived, and new ones set up. All exports of this kind, as sattins, damasks, velvets, &c. are well wrought, the colours fine, and the patterns in a good taste.

Jewelry and porcelaine, the manufactories of which have continued in Tuscany from the ancient Etruscans, together with intagliatas, employ a great

* De Orat. L. iii.

many hands, though they cannot be accounted considerable branches of trade.

Dying was formerly the more considerable, as the territory of Tuscany produces a plant said to be a good substitute to indigo, and which might easily be multiplied, so as to supply all home wants, and at the same time furnish considerable exports.

The wine in the neighbourhood of Florence has a great run all over Italy. It is both stomachic and light, and thus unites the *generosum & lene*, which recommended a wine to the bottle-men of antiquity. This must be a very considerable article in trade, the price of it being pretty low at Florence.

The Jews have a *ghetto* for the rascality of that nation; and they who are able to keep a house in town, are on a footing with the other citizens; intermixed in the different classes of trade; capable of municipal offices with other merchants and dealers; and distinguishing themselves by punctuality, candour and probity; in a word, by sentiments from which they seem to think themselves dispensed, in those countries where they are treated with oppression and ignominy. The great dukes admitted them to settle at Florence, without subjecting them to those opprobrious marks, which in most other places distinguish them from Christians. In short, they are at Florence, what the Roman-catholics are in England, and the Calvinists in France, citizens contributing to the population, the wealth, and splendor of the state.

The actors, singers, and dancers, of both sexes, at the play-houses in Florence, instead of being
useless

useless members to society, stumblings-blocks and stones of offence, follow trades, the play-houses being open only at certain times in the year; and this, not affording a subsistence, is considered only as a bye advantage to them, and not a fixed engagement to idleness. Their dramatic talents likewise improve by this twofold character, acting as much on their own account as that of the public, and not being forced, by mere necessity, to expose themselves by taking on them a part for which they are not qualified. The harlequin, for instance, one of the best and most entertaining actors I ever saw of the kind, kept a very well-accustomed shop, with a warehouse handsomely stocked. I have seen his books, and they were kept with all the exactness of the *complete tradesman*.

Bookselling was once a capital branch of the Florentine trade: all librarians are acquainted with the Torrentius and Giuntos editions, and will hardly, I believe, agree with the character given of the head of the latter house by one of his countrymen, and his cotemporary*. *Thomaso Giunta non meno avaro che ricco, era unicamente occupato ne' grossi guadagni della sua, piu tosto utile, che onorevole stamperia*, i. e. "Thomas Giunto, being no less covetous than rich, minded nothing but the great gains accruing to him from his printing, which, if useful, was not very honourable." The present Giunto is a French bookseller, of the name of Boucharde. The former Florentine book-trade turned almost entirely on the Florentine productions. There are, besides the writings

* Varchi Hist. Flor. L. ii.

of poets, artists, lawyers, &c. about a hundred works written by Florentines, and printed at Florence, within the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on the general and particular history of Florence.

Among these historians Varchi claims a particular distinction. His work makes a folio of six hundred and forty pages, though the subject of it be only the History of Florence under the Pontificate of Clement VII. that is, a relation of what that city performed and suffered at that time, in defence of its liberty. The Greek historians of the best ages never produced any thing more engaging, or better written; and to this must be added the very rare merit of impartiality and truth (*d*).

At Florence we got scent of a strange object of trade, the management and particulars of which, however, we could never come at. The master of our inn was gone to Rome with a youth, whom he had brought up from his childhood to music, after causing him to undergo the operation usual in such cases. Whether he had taken him from some hospital of foundlings, with the formalities observed in those houses on the disposal of the bastards and orphans committed to their care; whether he had bought him of his parents; whe-

(*d*) The speeches which Varchi has interspersed in his history, may be justified by the rules made use of by Mr. d'Ablancourt to justify those of Thucydides: "When," says he, "the dignity and importance of the subject fixes you, you hate whatever breaks the thread of it; but when it contains only common matter, you have recourse to other entertainments, and, as it were, resting-places in a long journey."

ther he was going to sell him at Rome, or only procure him a place, bargaining for a share of the emoluments, to the amount of his disbursements, and a profit answerable to the hazard he had run ; these were circumstances we could not discover : but we heard enough to fill us with astonishment and horror, that such a trade was carried on in a christian country !

Among the multitude of master-pieces of art, and such excellent regulations which owe either their birth or improvement to Florence, I have omitted financing; the importance and advantages of which must be estimated by the brilliant and solid fortunes gained by it, and not from the calamity of the countries which have been the theatre of its speculations, inquiries and operations.

This science, with which our northern countries are little acquainted, was for a long time cultivated by the Florentines, who managed it with all that dexterity, address, and sagacity, for which they were distinguished in trade. It was one of the principal resources in their last struggles for their liberty, in the years 1530 and 1531. Those who followed the fortune of Catharine de Medicis into France, *finding the country fallow, began tilling it with financing* ; which lasted till part of the reign of Lewis XIII. The chief contractors were Florentines, either such as had quitted their country, or still kept house at Florence : the very terms in financing speak the place of its origin : most of these terms, and the sacramental words, are borrowed from the Italian.

The Florentines complain in their turn of being *tilled* by those who have availed themselves of their instructions ;

instructions ; but the remembrance of what is past should be some alleviation to them under any present grievances. Financing may perhaps fare as other sciences, ruined and lost by being extended.

P I S A.

Though we were in the middle of December, the sky was so clear, and the air so mild, that we hired a boat, which carried us from Florence to Pisa down the Arno ; as pleasant, and nearly as short a way, as by land, and without any thing of the fatigue of the other.

Pisa, though much handsomer, is as thinly inhabited as Ferrara ; and it is only in its bridges and public edifices, that it retains any appearance of its splendor in the twelfth century. The Arno, which is at least as broad as the Seine, running through the middle of this place, gives its situation pretty much the air of that of Paris.

Its northern part, like that of Paris, has been built on a marsh, the laxity of which is the only cause of the phænomenon of the leaning tower so much talked of in all travels. Nicolas de Pisa, an architect of the thirteenth century, to whom Pisa owes many of the most stately edifices with which it is still adorned, having, by the miscarriages of his predecessors, perceived the badness of the ground on which he was to build, made, says Vasari in his panegyric on him, the foundations of his buildings the chief object of his attention : besides, causing piles to be driven, and carefully inspecting the masonry work in its daily progress, he counterabuted it, on the Arno side, by spurs, and such other armatures as have secured its stability.

These

These precautions have unhappily been overlooked in the building erected for the university by Cosmo III. and of which a tower for astronomical observations is a part. M. Purelli, who is at the head of these observations, assured me, that the tower's progressive divergency towards the Arno was become an article in his calculations, after leading him into misreckonings, which at first he could by no means account for; but that now the real cause was clear to him beyond all doubt.

The damp, heavy, and sickly air at Pisa, is doubtless owing both to this quaggy soil, and to a hill, which, covering Pisa towards the north in a circular form, reverberates, down into the bottom, where this city stands, all the vapours wafted against it by the southerly winds: the want of inhabitants, likewise, has no small share in this inconveniency. The chamber in which I lay at the post-house, was lofty, in the Italian manner; that is, walled and arched. Awaking in the night, I found myself as in a bath, owing to the moisture transpiring from the walls and the arch. On this I rose, and spent the remainder of the night by the fire side, in the common hall. The unwholesomeness of baths exuding from walls, built of a light and very porous stone, which pumps up the water from the foundations, is easily conceived.

The ancient Pisans, both from a principle of magnificence, and that their stately structures might not be injured by this pernicious humidity, made use of marble only, for which the neighbourhood of Carrara was a great conveniency. But ancient Greece afforded them still a greater advantage,

tage, in marble ready wrought to their hands. Their continual voyages and expeditions to the Levant, where their imports greatly exceeded their exports, gave them an opportunity of bringing home pieces of the ruins of all those wonderful edifices, which were the admiration of antiquity, and the untimely demolition of which this commerce greatly hastened.

From Greece came those seventy majestic columns, which support the nave of the cathedral; thence that multitude of columns of every module, distributed in the many peristyles of the leaning tower, of the baptistery, of the Augustins steeple, &c. thence was brought that grand antique vase in the cathedral's south porch; thence all those stones lining its outside in unequal courses, and of which many still shew fragments of ancient inscriptions: thence those exquisite basso relievos on the tomb of Beatrix, mother to the famous countess Matilda, among which a most beautiful Meleager's hunt, and which were the first models for Nicholas de Pisa, an artist to whom Italy partly owes the restoration of sculpture: lastly, from Greece came one of the porphyry columns which adorn the great altar in St. Stephen's church; a piece the more inestimable, as the original artist of it has, on the shaft where it joins the base, engraven in Greek characters, that it is nine feet in length. Before the pillar was set up in the place where it now stands, this inscription was observed by Mr. Nelli, who on examination concludes the Greek foot to have been a little under what Bosius makes it in 1561, and a little above Scamozzi's estimate of it in his Treatise of Architecture.

Among the monuments of the former magnificence of the Pisans, and their elegant taste in the midst of barbarian rudeness, the greatest of their three bridges is not to be omitted, being intirely of marble.

This magnificence influenced even such religious observances, which seemed the most alien from it. Such is the famous burial-place, likewise built of marble, on the plan of that which I since saw in France at Orleans. The ground in the open part of this church-yard, is intirely of earth brought by the Pisans, in 1224, from the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Jerusalem, in the fleet which they had fitted out for Frederic Barbarossa's expedition. This earth still retains the virtue of totally consuming a corpse in the space of twenty-four hours. The grave-digger affirmed, that this he very well knew from repeated instances on multitudes of Germans, who died at Pisa in the war in 1733. *La terra*, said he to me, *logoravagli con le loro grosse pancie, in termine di duo i giorni*, i. e. "The ground " within two days made an end of them and their " tun bellies."

Among the near and remote causes of the depopulation of Pisa, may be reckoned the vicinity of Florence and Leghorn:

Mantua vae misera nimium vicina Cremona!

In order to remedy this evil as far as possible, the great dukes have continued its university, and made it the stated residence of the knights of the order of St. Stephen, instituted by Cosmo I. in 1561, in imitation of those of Malta.

Among the university professors are M. Parelli, who fills Galileo's rostrum with the most eminent distinction;

distinction ; and the fathers, Berti, Frisi and Corfini. This suffices to give an idea of its prosperity. I was present at father Berti's lectures on ecclesiastical history. These lectures (and it is the same all over Italy) are not taken up with dictating, writing, and frivolous argumentations ; but form connected discourses on points of history, divinity, mathematics, &c. the series of which makes the professor's annual course. They are in Latin, and last an hour. The professor afterwards takes a walk for half an hour under the colonnade round the college-court, when the students lay before him in Italian any doubts and difficulties they may have, which he resolves in the same language.

It was not without some difficulty that I could keep up with the Latin of the Tuscan professors. In all the words ending in consonants, as *dominum*, *amant*, *gloriantur*, *ut*, they double the final consonant, and add to it an open E, pronouncing the words above, *dominummé*, *amantté*, *glorianturré*, *utté* : yet is not this pronunciation to be declared faulty, till we precisely know how the ancient Romans pronounced their language. Our northern pronunciation of the final *us* in masculine substantives is contradicted by all Italy, Spain, and the southern parts of France, where this syllable is sounded *ous* : the Italians even assert that, agreeably to the energy of this articulation, *um*, the last syllable of the accusative singular of those very substantives, should not in our mouths have the sound which we give it, like that of the word *homme*, but that of the third person singular of the present tense of the verb *humer*.

The chief of the order of St. Stephen, in spiri-

tuals, is Monsignor Cerati ; and as such he is invested with part of the episcopal prerogatives. I had recommendations to him from France, Rome, and Florence ; and never had I any of greater use : they procured me the friendship and intimacy of an aged gentleman, equally respectable for his station, his extensive and well-digested erudition, and the most amiable temper, with all the Lombard frankness and Florentine amenity.

*Animam qualem neque candidiorem
Terra tulit.*

In him I met with all the care, all the attention, all the readiness, and all the anticipations which politeness enjoins towards those to whom we are under obligations ; but which, from him to me, were purely effusions of an ingenuous mind and a good heart. He entertained me with a leisurely view of whatever was curious in Pisa, and procured me every acquaintance which he thought would suit me ; but none suited me so much as his : after my first acquaintance with this worthy prelate, I never thought Pisa lonely.

He had with him his brother, who, like many Lombards in easy circumstances, used to come and spend the winter at Pisa, as being more temperate than in Lombardy. By this inviting mildness, Pisa gets some addition of inhabitants, and lets houses, which otherwise would stand empty.

The baths, which are but a quarter of a league off, between the city and the hill which incloses it towards the north, will likewise bring some inhabitants when the great buildings just finished, and all the elegant conveniences making for the bathers, shall have brought them again into vogue.

Beyond

Beyond the great bridge, and on the left bank of the Arno, I saw, with some astonishment, a large inscription on marble, in golden letters, containing an extract of the emperor's edict as great duke of Florence, ordering, that in 1746, as well as I can recollect, the year should begin in Tuscany on the first of January, and so to continue. By way of explanation I was informed, that till then the civil year of the Tuscans did not begin till the 25th of March, not so much by reason of the equinox, as of the festival of the Annunciation, which they celebrate under the name of the *Conception of our Lord*. The knowledge of this ancient custom is necessary for tracing down to 1746 the dates of the histories and chronicles of Florence, in which the three first months in each year, computed according to the Roman style, belong to the preceding year.

At the foot of the said bridge is a vast mansion-house, built in the finest taste of architecture by Cosmo I. Another story has been raised on it, but little agreeing with the original building.

Along the same bank is a small church, or old chapel, intirely of marble; the ornaments and pillars finely executed, but the inside far beneath such a beautiful appearance. I went in: it was mass time; and there I saw a young person in the flower of her age, and of such beauty that I do not remember to have seen her equal in all Italy: she was escorted by an old man in a very odd garb from head to foot, her father or guardian; not her husband, I hope.

In the square before St. Stephen's church stands a very fine statue of Cosmo I.

On the quays along the Arno are several palaces, which do great honour to Florentine architecture : that of Lanfranchi is accounted the finest.

The bronze doors of the cathedral, embellished or rather loaded with basso relievos, were one of the first essays in this kind. They are of the twelfth century, and raise advantageous ideas of the efforts which the arts were even then making in Italy, to emerge from barbarism.

In the same point of view may be considered the paintings on the inside of the large and splendid burial-place above mentioned. The *Last Judgment*, by Andrew Orgagna, fixes the eye, and exhibits the ideas which prevailed in Dante's time. The painter, not presuming to determine Solomon's fate, has represented him between the elect and the damned, up to the middle in hell ; whilst the fate of all the others is severally ascertained.

LEGHORN.

The country from Pisa to Leghorn is one vast alluvion, of the quality of the Bourdeaux downs, as difficult, and may be as impossible, to be improved. I have already mentioned some trials for this purpose. The risings, and even the hills, on the east of this alluvion, are a congestion of sand and shells ; which has given rise to a no very profound dissertation of Misson concerning the formation of these fossils.

Certaldo stands on the summit of one of these hills. It is famous for having given birth to Boccaccio, who likewise spent the last years of his life there,

there. On his tomb is an epitaph, compos'd by himself, in two distichs ending with this verse :

Patria Certaldum, studium fuit alma Poësis.

It is something strange, that this writer should have characteris'd himself by a talent, of which he had but a slender share, if we may judge of it by his remains in this kind ; that is, by the pieces at the close of each day in his *Decameron*, being such as scarcely bear reading. He may perhaps have us'd the word *Poësis* as a generical appellation of the entertaining science in which, to be sure, he was one of the most consummate professors. The house he lived in still subsists, having been kept in repair from a regard to his memory : and over the door is an inscription on marble, beginning with this verse,

Has olim exiguas coluit Boccacius ædes.

Leghorn is the work of the Medicis, who, on becoming sovereigns of Florence, made an exchange for this place, then of little consideration, with the Genoese, of whose dominions it was at that time a part. As a maritime town, it is at present no less an object of admiration than Florence. The Medicis, though in another kind, have shewn in it the like magnificence as in the capital. It was the first free port open in the Mediterranean. All nations, to the very Mahometans, have free access, and may settle there without any distinction of sect or religion. These nations, which are divided into five bodies, make, as it were, so many distinct republics, of English, Italians, Jews, Greeks, and French.

The emperor, as great duke of Tuscany, had

lately consulted them on the causes of the decay of trade at Leghorn, and the means of restoring it. I have seen the memoirs in answer to this consultation : each of the five nations sets forth its ideas relatively to its particular concern ; and both the causes and remedies of the evil were laid open with a force, a perspicuity, and a freedom, seldom met with in such compositions.

The English have a spacious burial-place behind the harbour ; in the city, the Jews have a very fine synagogue, and the Greeks likewise a church according to their rite : these last, who are almost universally taylor, or salesmen, trading to the Levant, and supplying the Mediterranean sailors, make the least wealthy nation of the five. The Jews are the richest, which I should have little imagined from the dress and the whole appearance of that nation's syndic, when I accidentally saw him at the French consul's, to whom he came to shew his nation's memorial in answer to the emperor's question.

Leghorn harbour, near which stands a very beautiful pedestrian statue of duke Ferdinand I. who constructed the greater part of it, was full of ships from the north, and chiefly English. On the left of this harbour is a *lazaretto* insulated on every side, and surrounded by wide ditches of running water. Here curiosity led me into an accident, which might have been of very bad consequence. The general communication of Leghorn with all the places of the Levant and Africa, which are seldom free from the plague, often brings hither vessels actually infected, or strongly suspected to be so. The crews, when only suspected, are confined

fine dwithin the first close of the *lazaretto* : the second is for those who are seized with the infection, who have already some symptoms ; lastly, for those in whom such symptoms declare themselves during the course of quarentine ; so that this second close is a real pest-house. To all this I was a stranger when I went to the *lazaretto* ; and I did not reach it without a great deal of trouble, through a labyrinth of ditches and fortifications. In the first close I met people, some of whom made bows to me, drawing back, and making signs not to come near them. I got into the first yard of the second close without any obstacle, the wicket, which is always strictly guarded, happening not to be so then. As I was going up to the second wicket, I found there a centinel, who called out for me to keep off, and on seeing me coming on, fell a skipping, and making gesticulations like an ideot, or one who is tickled. On my offering him a *buona mancia*, his gesticulations were more extravagant than before ; so that, thinking the poor fellow was really out of his senses, and I could not set him to rights, I left the place ; and being that night at an entertainment in one of the capital houses of Leghorn, I related my disappointment. The whole company shuddered ; and I was given to understand, that, had my clothes in the least touched the wicket, or those of the centinel, I must, *ipso facto*, have been put into one of the cells of the last ward, and there performed quarentine along with the infected, of whom it is the receptacle ; and that, if I had broke loose from the centinel, who would have collared me, and had I betaken myself to my heels, his orders were to fire

at

at me, hitting me wherever he could best. This is said by way of information against a precipitate curiosity.

There is no giving a complete idea of the present state of the Leghorn trade, without abridging the memorials above mentioned, and of which we procured copies ; but an extract would only whet the curiosity of the mercantile class, to see the originals.

At Leghorn we hired a bark for Genoa, expressly stipulating with the master, that it should be wholly for ourselves. But the water *Vetturini* are like their land-brethren : after incumbering us with what goods he could get, he gave us for fellow travellers, some shipwrights belonging to Toulon dock, with their overseer ; Breton sailors, who were returning from England by the way of Venice ; a Spanish Dominican, who was on his way home ; with a female companion, whom the good father had picked up at Civita Vecchia.

P O R T O - F I N O.

We left Leghorn on Christmas eve ; and a very hard gale of wind, in which our poltron master and his men fell to wringing their hands, and making more use of their chaplets than their oars, obliged us to put into Porto-Fino.

The day following, we were to have continued our course ; but our honest master had other thoughts : Porto-Fino was the very place to which he, and the greater part of his crew, belonged ; and it turned to better account with him to spend Christmas holidays at home, than in Genoa harbour,

bour, where things are not so cheap. We however obliged him to set sail; but, by designed mismanagement in working the bark, there was a necessity of putting back; and then said he, “we shall avoid being both laughed at and blamed, if we were lost in going to sea on Christmas day.”

The Dominican, who had been six weeks on his way from Civita-Vecchia, was the more pleased with our putting back, having a point of interest to settle with the parish priest of Porto-Fino. Before saying his three masses the preceding night, he had asked the priest whether he had any *intentions* for him; which, in the phraseology of the Italian clergy, signifies asking a mass with a design of paying for it. The priest had asked two; but instead of the gratuity which the father expected, he had signified to him, that a great many poor people had died in his parish without the means of having masses said for them, and that his two should be applied to these forlorn souls. This disposition the Spaniard could not digest, and was determined to avail himself of this opportunity to right himself. He was a comely man, raw-boned, choleric, and always clinching an enormous cane, which he brandished about with every gesture. He had already brought himself into several scrapes, since his leaving Civita Vecchia: for instance, he had the presumption to collar the governor of a small place for being, as he thought, wanting in respect to the cloth, and who, from regard to St. Dominic's gown, could obtain no farther satisfaction for such an outrage, than condemning him to perform quarentine, as coming from a suspected country. He was in no great
hurry

hurry to reach Spain ; for coming away without leave, with a view to solicit a licence at Rome to change his order, six months imprisonment on bread and water was the least he could expect.

Returning in the evening from an excursion we had made to the heights which overlook Porto-Fino, we found him on the pier, with his hat thrust over his eyes, brandishing his cane, and shewing in his countenance and carriage that he was on some great scheme. We asked how matters stood with the priest : *Adeffo, adeffo*, i. e. “ Now “ for it, now for it,” answered he, hastening towards the church. The priest being busy in confessing, he beckoned to him, saying in the Italian way, *Una, una*. The priest not answering, he went up to the confessional ; at which the priest came out, and proposed going into the vestry. They were no sooner in, than the Dominican bolting the door, and flapping his cane on the table, renewed his demand with such emphasis, that the poor priest gave him all the money he had in his pocket. He returned to the inn with the money in his hand, and related to us, with all the heat of the action itself, how he had brought the priest to a compliance : he treated our domestics, his female companion, and a Piedmontese pilgrim, who was going to Rome to obtain absolution for freedoms with a female cousin-german of his. It was the Dominican habit which drew from the pilgrim such a confession ; and, in return to his confidence, he let him into some measures for getting his absolution at the cheapest rate.

Porto-Fino is sheltered by an enormous rock, which forms a promontory battered on every side
by

by the agitations of the sea. It is a full mile perpendicular above the water's edge. Having clambered up this promontory, we walked all over its summit, which goes round the harbour. From thence we had, on the right, a view of the city of Genoa and its two *rivieras*, forming, as it were, the two parts of an arch, and the city the centre; and on the left, a similar arch terminating the point of Spezzia bay. This whole cape* is one continued compound, formed of pebbles, bound by a natural cement hard as any stone. Time however, and the waves, have made some impression on it. Some parts of this mass, which have been loosened by the corrosive water, and thus sunk down perpendicularly, look perfectly like a wall made by the hand of man: others, being excavated beneath, hang in the air, and shew those arched chasms so frequent in Callot's prints.

We were absolutely to put to sea the day after Christmas day; but our skipper, who minded his secret designs more than our impatience, came to tell us that the wind was against us; that there was no keeping the sea; and, in a word, he would not stir. Concluding that the next day we should hear the same story, I asked him if he had any commands for Genoa; and away I went, by the only carriage to be had at Porto-Fino, that is, on foot, with my domestic carrying a bundle of clean linen at the handle of his dagger. We had full six leagues to go; but from the cape, Genoa seemed at so small a distance; and the sea, being but slightly agitated, afforded so chearful a prospect, the weather also was so fine, the air so clear and temper-

* See the article of MOLA.

ate, and the whole coast so charmingly displayed all the beauties of spring, that I ventured on the expedition, with a pleasure which received an additional relish from the joy of seeing myself out of the prison of Porto-Fino.

We had the cape to clamber up a second time; then to traverse the long level, by which it joins to the coast; afterwards, a steep declivity; and all this by ways, with which the goats are best acquainted; the path, in some places between parallel rocks, being only a shoe's breadth, so that there was no moving forward for some paces, but by sliding the fore-foot and bringing the other after.

From thence I had a view of a charming valley along a bay, covered to the south-west by the prominence of the cape. In the centre of this bay lies a village called Santa Maria, the diversity of the scattered dwellings of which seems as if intended for the delight of the prospect.

All the level ground is formed by a road along the slope of the cape, the repair of which is owing to marshal Richelieu in his expedition to Genoa; but the ground, on the side in which it is in a great measure cut, having since given way in several places, is now practicable only to foot-travellers.

This way is a continued series of towns, villages, and seats, both of a pretty construction, and delightfully situated. Along the villages, and near the houses, it is paved with bricks of several colours, placed in compartments like Hungary point. The orange-trees, of which this coast is full, were loaded with fruit and blossoms: jessamine, thyme, myrtle, all the odorous herbs and plants, covering the uncultivable places, were in full bloom; as likewise

wife peas, which were set in little spots of a better soil : the birds, in sprightly strains, hailed the spring : but, as in those enchanted tracts with which romances are decorated, here was no inn, so that I had much ado to get a drop of wine, and some very indifferent bread ; thus I reached Genoa both very tired and very hungry.

It was the next evening before I had the pleasure of seeing my fellow traveller. The master, finding that I was really gone, had got under way about noon ; and having with some difficulty weathered the cape, he designedly lost ground, and hampered himself in the first road, but signified to the passengers that he would get out to sea on the first appearance of fair weather, though in his own mind he determined to spend the night, and as much as he could of the day following, in a place which he knew, and where provisions were cheaper than at Genoa ; so that all my companion got by his stay was being tossed about all night in the dark, amidst a very harsh grating clatter, like that of large chains, caused by the rolling and collision of fragments, great and small, detached from the rock, whilst the master and his men lay snug in their beds ashore.

As I came to Genoa on foot, the reception I met with at the inn was that of a foot passenger. I indeed asked for an apartment for two ; but all I could get was a small chamber with a very indifferent bed, in which, however, the journey procured me a good night's rest : but many compliments being sent me, the day following, by persons to whom I was recommended, the innkeeper made

very

very humble apologies, and assured me of his future good behaviour.

GENOA.

One of the most judicious modern historians sees, in the croisades, the origin of maritime powers; the first of which were Venice, Genoa, and Pisa; and likewise the establishment of maritime commerce in Europe, which, till then, had been in the hands of the Greeks and Arabs. The conquests, and the jealousy of the conquering republics, and the wars which this jealousy raised among them, fill up the picture of this first epocha.

Genoa figures in it with pre-eminence: among its conquests and settlements, acquired partly by fair, and partly by foul means, were the isles of Majorca, Minorca, Candia, Sardinia, Corsica, Negrepont, Malta, Lesbos, Scio, Smyrna in Asia Minor, Theodosia, and several important places on the Black Sea, and even the very suburbs of Constantinople. Such extensive conquests, settlements, and possessions, were what weakened it to such a degree, that, unable to defend its own territory, it made a surrender of itself to Charles VI. king of France, within a century after this formidable appearance. At the revolution, which closed the reign of that prince, it re-assumed its liberty; but labouring still under its former debility, it was for throwing itself into the arms of Lewis XI. who, from an opinion that distant possessions would be of no real advantage to France, rejected its offers, which however were accepted by Lewis XII.

and

and Francis I. Andrea Doria, quitting the French service, for that of the emperor Charles V. stipulated with that prince for the freedom of his country, and gave his fellow citizens laws, which not only settled that freedom, but has maintained it, down to the present time, against both domestic encroachments and foreign attacks. Such is the power of a good head and a good heart united !

Genoa is full of monuments of gratitude towards this illustrious patriot. There is a marble statue of him at the gate of the palace, in the great council-hall, and in St. George's bank, with the title of *Restitutor Libertatis*. In the centre of a fountain in the garden of Doria palace stands a colossal statue of this hero, with Neptune's attributes. Lastly, in St. Matthew's church, which was built by his ancestors, and repaired by himself, is his tomb ; the apposite ornaments and inscription of which, majestically declare him the Restorer of his Country.

All Europe beheld with admiration the bold and successful effort made in 1746, by the commonalty of Genoa, to retrieve their freedom, against an armed enemy, then master of the city, and of all the republic's forces ; a noble instance of what the love of one's country can still perform, and related with an energy worthy of the subject, in the Latin history of the last war in Italy, written by M. Bonamici, an officer in the Neapolitan service.

I have collected some anecdotes relating to this great event, which had escaped the historian's knowledge. Five months after the revolution, money began to be wanting in support of it ; and

the lesser council were going to raise it by an additional impost. The day they were to meet for drawing up the edict, M. Grillo, a person of high birth and very rich, but who was something singular in many of his ways, came early into the antichamber of the council, and strewing it with pieces of cord about two feet long, went his way. Every counsellor, on coming in, asked how those ropes came there, and being answered, that it was M. Grillo's doings, gave a shrug, and passed along. The deliberation being entered on, in comes M. Grillo, who was immediately asked what he meant by those ropes: he made answer, that ever since the taking up arms, the continual service for the defence of the republic having obliged the people to quit their daily occupations, by which they had before supported their families, it would be an act of justice and humanity, to give those pieces of rope among the people to hang themselves, rather than saddle them with new imposts, which would drive them to despair, and bring in nothing to the state. "But money must be had," replied the council, "and where to get it?" "Where it is," answered he; and going away, soon returned, followed by porters with bags of gold and silver, to the amount of four or five hundred thousand livres, and immediately poured them out in the middle of the hall: "Let every one of you do the like," added M. Grillo, going away, "and then the money will be made up." This example took; the impost was dropped, the nobility contributed in proportion to their abilities, and Genoa was saved. I was concerned to hear, that the same nobility, departing from M. Grillo's
patriotic

patriotic views, were about continuing extraordinary imposts, to get back from the people what they had then up for given their own preservation.

The nobility had not openly joined in the revolution, which, for some time, was even a matter of consternation among them: the people in arms tumultuously insisted on their declaring themselves, or laying down the government; which occasioned a most tragical scene, excellently described by M. Bonamici. Though the senate, the council, and the nobility, did not act in a body and openly, they assisted underhand, individuals mingling themselves among the commonalty, who, that they might not be brought into any danger, called them among themselves *Colliers*; at the same time paying them the greatest deference and respect.

But the boldest champions were plebeians; and among these one Epingletta, a common shoemaker, and till then known only for his facetiousness and acute sayings; but he soon distinguished himself by very bold strokes: it was seen, both in his attacking and defending several posts, which accidentally fell in his way, that his head was of a piece with his heart: the people strove who should fight under him. He was killed, something unexpectedly, towards the end of the siege, at the head of two thousand men whom he commanded, in an expedition where there was but little blood shed. He had been one of the warmest sticklers against the nobility. I could not hear what the senate has done for his widow and children.

I happened to be in the senate at the *estratto* of new members for one of the colleges, which form the secret council of the state. The halls of

the palace were crowded with people of all ranks, and all seemed deeply concerned about this ceremony. I was informed, that this *estratto* was exactly like the drawing of the lottery lately passed in France, under the name of *Lotterie de l'Ecole Royale & Militaire*. The Genoese, being mighty calculators, have invented this lottery; and the state, from political views, countenances it. A citizen concerns himself about the *estratto* of such a senator, no farther than as having put into the lottery in his name, on a conceit that it will prove more lucky to him than any other.

This *estratto*, or drawing, is performed with great solemnity. A foundling boy, very beautiful and richly dressed, being, after many caresses from all the senators, placed standing on a stool between the doge's legs; a velvet purse, containing, in pieces of paper rolled up, the names of the senators elected into the great council, was delivered to his serenity. The doge having shaken the purse, the boy put in his hand, and drew out two tickets, which, being read by the first senator, were whispered round among the whole assembly.

The palace in which this ceremony was transacted, is the doge's mansion-house, as likewise of some senators who closely keep him company. And, farther, here are held the several courts of law. It makes no great appearance outwardly; but some of the pieces within are magnificence itself, as the great and lesser council-chambers. In the last are frescos by Solimene, whose light and brilliant pencil, far from obscuring the room (a disadvantage usually

usually consequential to painting) seems to make it more chearful and lightsome.

The designs of the great council probably are an imitation of Versailles gallery. The roof and walls display the most remarkable battles and victories of the Genoese in their former wars with the Venetians, the Pisans, and Florentines, painted by Francheschini, but with more art than spirit. In the piers facing the square, and in the correspondent piers, are niches with marble statues, bigger than life, of the republic's chief benefactors, the last being marshal Richelieu. Those statues are not executed suitably to the place they stand in. As for that of the marshal Richelieu, in the habit of the order of the Holy Ghost, the eye, in all the various particulars of that habiliment, sees only a turgid assemblage of puffs and curls, quite disproportionate to the head.

The monuments of this kind in the palace of St. George's bank are by better hands. To this bank, the æra of which is so far back as the beginning of the fifteenth century, are appropriated two thirds of the republic's ordinary revenue. All money and paper affairs at Genoa are transacted in bills of this bank. At the head of it are eight directors: it has large funds and estates, quite distinct from those of the republic; and the only rub its credit ever met with, was at the revolution in 1746: at the peace, its safety was the first thing attended to both by the nobility and people; the latter are particularly concerned to support an establishment, which, taking the sinews of the state out of the government's hands, forms a powerful counterpoise to its authority.

At Genoa, the state has the monopoly of bread, wine, and oil. The bakers, in the several parts of the city, must fetch all they sell from the republic's ovens, which are in one building, containing every conveniency for the several operations required in such a large supply. The republic's cellars are no less surprising in another kind, being large barks in the basin or dock, and thus exposed all summer to the heat of the sun, the intenseness of which is increased by being reflected from the buildings round these floating cellars: accordingly, the wine and oil are such as might be expected from such a staple.

As to the magnificence of the city's buildings, which have gained it the title of *Superba*, all Genoa is in the *Strada Nuova*; the palaces of which are indeed superb, and mostly built from plans of Galeazzi of Perugia. Among those palaces, the Jesuits have a house, the less inferior to them in magnificence, as its whole inward decoration, being open to the street, presents a pleasing and well-disposed assemblage of steps, flights of stairs, peristyles, balustrades, orange-trees and a shrubbery, beautifully intermingling nature with art.

The furniture of the palaces of *Strada Nuova* vies with the grandeur of the architecture. Several have inestimable collections of paintings. In that of Brignole is a suit of silk, gold and silver hangings, representing the Triumphs of Scipio, from Julio Romano's cartons. The owner of this palace being doge when I happened to be in Genoa, as a mark of this dignity the gates of his palace had been taken down, and only a rough wooden bar fixed at each end, across the entrance, at the height of six feet.

Doria palace, in the whole detail, answers the reputation of the famous Andrea Doria, who built it. Those parts which are usually neglected, still shine with paintings, ornaments, and grotesques, by Pordenone, Beccafami, and the best masters of those times. Here is shewn the table, at which Charles V. Francis I. and Clement VII. were attended by Andrea Doria.

The churches of Genoa, likewise, contain a great number of pieces, which are admired even by those who conclude their view of Italy with this city. The Annunciada, St. Cyr, St. Philip de Neri, the Carignan church, all built by some eminent family at Genoa, exhibit a striking assemblage of productions in the three arts, subordinate to design. In the latter are two admirable statues; St. Sebastian, a nudity; the other, a bishop in his cope, by the famous Puget. A hospital, and our Lady of the Vines, have also two not inferior pieces of this master, who, enslaved by his talents, placing his whole ambition in the perfection of his art, and like the famous Le Gros being above courting either panegyrists or patrons, was scarce known in his own country, and had no other employment besides ornamenting the stems of galleys and merchant vessels. His *Milo*, which he ventured to expose for sale, a piece to which the emperor Augustus would have assigned one of the first places in the Palatine gallery, could meet with no better reception at Versailles, than to be put in the gardens.

The sacred edifices at Genoa, like those of Naples, are full of funerary inscriptions, but generally as plain as those of Naples are turgid and

far-fetched. They have commonly annexed to them some moral or prudential maxims for the use of the *viator*, who, in compliance with the invitation of most of these inscriptions, has stopped to read them. On the frieze of the magnificent tomb of one of the name of Spinola, is the following, in very large characters.

QUOD PER TE FACERE POTES,
ALTERI NE COMMISERIS.

In some public places are inscriptions of another kind, also consecrated to posterity, but perpetuating the infamous memory of such who have injured the state, and whose names are set up in the chief places of the Genoese territories. I could hardly reconcile perpetuating monuments of this kind with the humane maxim, *Gratiæ ampliandæ, odia restringenda*.

The whole learning of Genoa is confined to the Jesuits college. The Genoese, being all naturally intended for trade, think themselves dispensed from any study and science, which has not an immediate reference to that supreme object.

*Pueri longis rationibus affem
Discant in partes centum diducere.*

Yet I have been told, that natural history was known and cultivated there, even in the last century, as a matter both of curiosity and commerce: which confirms what Mr. Addison says of his having, in the year 1688, seen a collection of shells at M. Miconi's in Genoa; and he speaks of it as the most complete collection in Europe. And I must
not

not forget the famous emerald vessel, which, supposing it incontestable, would be the most capital piece of natural history in the universe.

According to Andrea Doria's original laws, the government of Genoa was to be in the hands of the ancient nobility, exclusively of the new: but by a regulation between those two bodies in 1576, the partition wall was broken down, and both were made equally capable of the highest employments: being, however, still distinguished into *Porto Vecchio* and *Porto Nuovo*, they not only meet in separate places, but have distinct interests. The *Porto Vecchio*, where the old nobility meet, is an open place, along the great street: in it are always some old elbow-chairs of crimson velvet, on which only the old nobility can sit: a new nobleman, on passing near this place, makes a very low bow to those who are met there, and which they are sure to return very carelessly; nay, they often beckon to him, at which he goes up, and respectfully attends to what is said to him. The new nobility have no other meeting-places but the little marble seats, round the *Banchi* house, and without any of the formality and distinctions of the *Porto Vecchio*.

The nobility, both new and old, join in exploding that prejudice which holds trade incompatible with nobility: they always have concerned themselves in banking and commerce; both which at Genoa, being not only considerable, but well conducted, are very lucrative. Manufactures indeed have been great sufferers by the last revolution, but are in a fair way of soon seeing themselves on their former footing. Leghorn was the staple
of

of all Italy for Dutch and Spanish tobacco, till, by the clogs which the emperor's farmers were imprudently for forcing on this trade, it has taken its flight to Genoa, which, I should before have observed, has likewise been made a free port. England, in consequence of doing more business than France with Genoa, in its oranges and lemons, its dried and preserved fruits, improves this connexion for vending at Genoa great quantities of grain and manufactures.

Both sexes at Genoa are in general personable and handsome, and affect the French dress to the utmost extent of the sumptuary laws, by which men are allowed only to wear black with a short fatten cloak, and their sedans coarsely varnished with black. The same laws prohibit women from pearls, diamonds, and laces. Their carriage is the same as that of men; and all their light, after dark, is a sorry lantern on one of the poles of the leading chairman. The only persons dispensed from these rigid laws are the *spose*, or such as are promised in marriage; and this for six weeks before and after their nuptials. In this happy interval their love of finery has its full range: they go in gilded chairs splendidly glazed, with white wax flambeaux before and behind; and in the richest full dresses, glittering with jewels and laces. During this transient period, it is the same with them as with young women who are about taking the veil, and who are led to the parish-church in all the pomp and glitter which their family can furnish.

The disfavoured and energetic portrait of the Genoese, with which Dante concludes the thirty-third

third canto of his *Hell*, is unquestionably owing to the frequent wars, the rivalry and commercial jealousy, which have ever subsisted between that people and his countrymen the Tuscans :

*Abi Genovesi, uomini diversi
D'ogni costume e più d'ogni magagna,
Perche non siete voi del mondo sperfi ?
Che col peggiore spirto di Romagna
Trovai un tal di voi, che per su' opra,
In anima in Coccyto gia si bagna,
Ed in corpo par ancor vivo disaprà.*

It is from the same national rancour, that Landini, in his commentary on that piece, roundly says, *Degna e ben collocata esclamazione, per multi-rispetti ! i quali, per non usar invettiva, contra mia consuetudine, al presente non pongo, ma sono noti quasi à tutti.* “ A very just exclamation, and perfectly apposite in many respects, but which, from my known aversion to invective and obloquy, I shall not particularise.”

A retrospect on more remote times shews us Virgil, a true Lombard, saying, in the second book of his *Georgics*,

Assuetumque malo Ligurem.

And the like prejudice suggests to him Camilla's reproaches to a vapouring boaster :

*Haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata sinebant :
Vane Ligur, (says Camilla to him) frustra que animis
elate superbis,
Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricas artes.*

But

But all, who have a right way of thinking, know what strefs to lay on these national criminations.

We hired a felucca at Genoa, which brought us back to France, with our Toulon shipwrights and our Breton failors, who had kept us company from Leghorn. The Genoese seamen, whom we had an opportunity of knowing in these two voyages, that is, the inhabitants of the two *rivieras* of Genoa, were for a long time, both from inclination and interest, in the French service; whereas they now prefer that of Spain. They enter only for a year, will be well paid, are robust, sober, very laborious, but faint-hearted in danger.

They and the Provençals, for their reciprocal security, make an exchange of their fisheries. Whilst we were on this coast, it swarmed with Provençals down as far as the seas of Sicily, leaving Martigues and the coast of Provence to the Genoese.

Our return was not without some risque. Two English cruisers lay off Villa-Franca harbour: our master, getting intelligence of this at St. Remo, acquainted us with the difficulty; on which calling a council, we determined to leave the felucca with only one servant on board, and foot it to Nice along the coast. The experience I had acquired from Porto-Fino to Genoa, qualified me for keeping up our company's spirits; and accordingly they all owned me their conductor. The appearance of the sky, the country, and the sea, was indeed perfectly vernal; but we had enormous mountains to pass over, and the descents not less difficult and toilsome than the acclivities. We breakfasted

at Bordiguerra, where our bill, being a monstrous exaction, was settled by the commandant of Ventimiglia. We dined at Turbia with a Swiss officer, who commanded some invalids there. This post consists of a dismal house, serving both for inn and corps-de-garde ; and the remains of a tower built by Cæsar on mount Turbia, to secure the pass in his return from Gaul into Italy. It is this edifice which Virgil alludes to in the following verse in the sixth book of the *Æneid* :

*Aggeribus focer Alpinis atque arce Monæci
Descendens.*

From the top of Turbia you see Monaco directly under you, down an amazing depth ; yet it stands on a rock, at a great height above the water's edge.

We discovered at sea, off Ventimiglia, a large tartan : as it was passing by, one of the English frigates immediately got under sail, gave it chase, and fired several shot ; and the tartan making a running fight of it, at length got clear. Our view of this engagement was like seeing the dramatic battles from the upper regions in the opera-house ; but it gave us much more pleasure to see our skipper, who had taken the very instant of the frigate's putting to sea, pass without molestation by the mouth of the harbour, and row away into that of Nice.

The latter is a work of the king of Sardinia, having been made by his orders under the cannon, or rather the rubbish, of Nice fort, which was totally demolished by marshal Catinat in the succession-war.

All I observed at Nice, was an inscription in
white

white marble over the door of the clock-tower. It animadverts, in very fine Latin, but in very free terms, on the alliance of the French with the Turks in their joint expedition against Nice under Francis I. I am surprised that the French, having been masters of this city for several years under the marshals Catinat, Maillebois, and Belleisle, should have let such a monument stand, which was daily before their eyes, in the principal square of Nice.

The acquaintance, whose memoirs I have mentioned in the article of PLACENTIA, had in his passage to Nice an adventure which I shall here transcribe: it may serve for the history of noxious insects. “ In 1745, in a fine evening in July, as I was
 “ walking alone towards *La Trinitá*, in the narrow
 “ cultivated space along the Paglion, I perceived,
 “ a little up the hill, a lofty fig-tree with a fig
 “ hanging on it, which had been overlooked by
 “ the people who had stripped the tree: it was so
 “ tempting, that standing a tip-toe on my right
 “ foot, I plucked it; but, recovering myself on
 “ my heel, I felt my instep pricked in two places,
 “ as if lacerated by two small rusty files. The
 “ pain was so sharp, that I own it made me cry
 “ out; and away flew my shoe, without my un-
 “ buckling it: afterwards looking down, I saw
 “ scuttling away an insect, in shape and size very
 “ much like a chaffer, but shorter and thicker:
 “ its coat was of a changeable green yellow; and
 “ its head terminated in two strong *antennæ*, bend-
 “ ing inwards like those of the beetle. I thought
 “ that it had dropped from the fig-tree into the
 “ hollow made between my foot and the shoe by
 “ my

“ my motion to reach the fig, and that, feeling
“ itself squeezed, it had stung me in its own de-
“ fence; so that I forbore revenging myself. The
“ pain in the mean time continued, and feeling
“ my foot swell, I pulled of my stocking: then
“ across the instep were two parallel marks, about
“ three lines in length, and two lines distant one
“ from the other. After a fruitless endeavour to
“ squeeze blood from them, I went back towards
“ the city; but the pain had pervaded all the
“ nerves of my foot, so that I was scarcely able to
“ stand. Pulling off my stocking a second time,
“ I perceived round the two marks a black circle,
“ which (it being the only remedy at hand) I
“ bathed copiously with urine; then making free
“ with the first wine-prop I met, and putting on
“ my shoe so as not to bear on the wound, I reached
“ Nice, and went into the first apothecary’s shop.
“ Having given him an account of the accident and
“ the insect, he told me they called it *tavan*, and
“ very seriously checked me for not having killed
“ it, pursuant to the axiom, *the venom dies*
“ *with the beast*. He applied a bolster of cam-
“ phirated brandy, advised me to eat no supper,
“ and, if I could, to sleep, promising to call on me
“ the next morning. He came, and was very
“ much surpris’d at my having had so very good
“ a night, told me that he reckoned he should have
“ found me feverish, and attributed the fair way I
“ was in to the natural topic, which I had made
“ use of on the spot. In the night time, my in-
“ step was grown black, and the pain still very
“ acute. Some camphirated brandy, however,
“ and a few days rest, completed the cure.

“ I refer to naturalists the inquiry into what
 “ affinity there may be between the *tavan* and the
 “ tarantula, and the effects of the stinging of
 “ one, with that of the other.”

These are the observations we have collected concerning Italy, and the *dispositions, humours, and ways*, of the Italians, during the year we spent in *rubbing and filing our brain against theirs**. They connect objects which we have seen, or thought we saw ; facts received from the assurance of persons, most of them intelligent, and in no wise concerned to impose on us ; consequences, in the justness of which we may have erred, and which we pretend not to vindicate. Truth was our capital view, without flattering or offending any country or person whatever, and without extending our praises or our remarks to every thing which might have afforded matter.

The character of the Italians in general should naturally come in here, as the conclusive corollary of our observations. The principal strokes of it, if not exhibited in formal words, are virtually represented in many parts of these volumes : as to combining them, that we leave to the reader’s sagacity. It is only with a view of guarding the public against the judgments which strangers are apt to make, concerning every nation whatever, that we shall here set down several decisions, given at different times on the Italians, by authors of the middle age, and others more modern ; but which we adopt no farther than as they agree with our observations. That we may not be charged with

* Mont. L. i. c. 29.

any falsification, we shall give them *verbatim* in the terms of the respective authors.

Gregory of Tours, the father of the History of France, speaking of the Italians being threatened with an invasion of the Lombards before the fall of the Grecian empire in Italy, gives this character of them: *Est omnis populus infidelis, per-juriis deditus, furtis obnoxius, in homicidiis promptus, à quibus nullus justitiæ fructus ullatenus gliscit, non decimæ dantur, non pauper alitur, non tegitur nudus, non peregrinus hospitio excipitur.**

Ditmar, an historian of the eleventh century, quoted by Muratori, exclaims, *Multæ sunt, prok dolor ! in Romania, atque in Longobardia, insidiæ. Cunctis hac advenientibus exigua patet caritas. Omne ibi venale est, et hoc cum dolo ; multique toxicati cibo pereunt.†*

Innocent II. was for providing a young French abbé with a bishoprick in Italy: St. Bernard, to dissuade him from it, made use of a reason, which for this long time has lost its weight: *Insolentia Longobardorum*, says he to the pope, *Et inquietudo eorum, cui non est nota ? aut cui magis quàm vobis ? Quid putamus esse facturum juvenem, viribus corporis fractum, et quieti eremi assuetum, in populo barbaro, tumultuoso, procelloso ? ‡*

Whether riches and plenty had in the following age wrought a happy change in the manners of the Italians, or whether James de Vitry had considered them better, or with a more favourable eye, he draws the following picture of the Genoese and the Pisans, whom he must have thoroughly

* Hist. L. i. c. 6. † Diff. xxiii. ‡ Epist. cliv.

known, as living along with them in the expedition of which he has given us the history : *Homines Italici*, says he*, *et graviore, et maturi, et prudentes, et compositi, in cibo parci, in potu sobrii, in verbis ornati et prolixi, in consiliis circumspēcti, in republica procuranda diligentes et studiosi, tenaces et sibi in posterum providentes, aliis subjici renuentes, ante omnia libertatem sibi defendentes, jura, leges et instituta sibi dicant et firmiter observantes. Terræ Sanctæ valdè sunt necessarii, non solum in præliando, sed in navali exercitio, in mercimoniis peregrinis et victualibus deportandis. Quoniam in potu et cibo modesti sunt, diutius in Orientali regione vivunt, quàm aliæ Occidentales nationes.*

This picture, by a French hand, greatly mollifies the irony on the Italians, which John of Salisbury puts in the mouth of the French : *Æmilianos et Ligures*, says this satirical writer†, *Galli derident, dicentes eos testamenta conficere, viciniam convocare, armorum implorare præsidia, si finibus eorum testudo immineat quam oporteat oppugnari* : a passage which might have served Rabelais for a motto to his *Poltronismus rerum Italicarum*.

The learned Barclay, in his *Icon Animorum*, after estimating the pre-eminence of Italy above other European countries, and after weighing the reasons and motives of the general prepossession in favour of that country, speaks of the Italians in the following manner : *Nil autem est tam arduum sedulitati humanæ, ad quod Italici acuminis præstantia non tollatur. Ab ultima etiam sorte vulgi non paucos quotidie in nomen atque opes felix industria producit. Nullum curarum genus quod divitias pro-*

* C. 66.

† De Nug. cur. L. i. c. 4.

mittat, aut, si opus est, humilitatis specimen, aspernantur: longi quoque laboris speique patientes, quorum alterum fastus Hispaniæ, alterum subita atque præceps vis Gallorum non toleret. Atque, et ad rerum publicarum gubernationem validæ mentes, ad omnem fortunam idoneæ, frugi homines, intentique ad futura.

Latine scribere inter illos haud pauci, non utique loqui norunt. Linguam quoque, quâ vulgò utuntur, quanquam nihil est aliud quàm cum corruptâ latinitate barbarorum mixtura verborum, quantum possunt ab originis suæ vestigiis, loquendo, scribendoque, avertunt, &c.

Tamen amœnitas studiorum in Italia non exigua, maximè eæ partes ad quas vivax naturæ lepiditas invitat. Testis gentilitii carminis pulchra, et ad vicinorum invidiam gravis ubertas, quæ nomina poetarum, tot amorum ignibus ad supplicii celebritatem fidei ardentia, sacravit. Nec enim interest, suâ an antiquorum linguâ locuti sint; cum sit ejusdem virtutis impetus, qui tenerum et opulentum ingenium in popularem, quique in veterem facundiam, laxat. Nam et Græci quæ intelligeret populus, scribebant; et Romani Græcos mimos, et Atticæ eloquentiæ efficax robur, ad sui vulgi aures accommodaverunt.

Fam quid de Italicis historiæ scriptoribus dicam? Istis quidem sincera prudentia victuris, illis autem tantum nimia eloquentia et partium favore peccantibus? Sed et sapientia cælestis, et humanæ prudentiæ disciplina, cæteraque omnia quæ in Musarum tutela sunt, nunquam parum illius populi ingeniis debuerunt. Ad extremum non alibi sanctiorum virtutum exempla, pejorumve facinorum, quam in Italicis animis cernas; et quod quidam de Attica dicebat, nul-

libi vel atrocior cicuta est, vel suavius apes exsuetis digestisque floribus cellas implent. See the sixth chapter throughout.

Instead of presuming to comment on the different parts of this animated picture, I shall only observe, concerning the article of arts and sciences, that Italy first cultivated several branches of study, which, in many countries where they have successively come into vogue, are imagined to be new.

What author, for instance, can natural history produce, who had laboured for it with such firmness, extent, success, and so little profit to himself, as the celebrated Aldrovandi? On œconomics and agronomy, with all their appurtenances, Italy had excellent works, both in verse and prose, so early as the sixteenth century. Luigi Allamanni's poem *della Coltivazione*, of which Robert Stephens published the first edition in 1546, is universally known. The same subject, in all its particulars, had been discussed by Peter Crescenzi, so far back as 1473; and about the same time the Greek and Latin authors *de Re Rustica* were translated into Italian. The most eminent scholars and artists did not disdain to lay out their talents on that subject. Palladius was translated by Sansovino: the learned Peter Victorius, or Vettori, published a treatise on the culture of olive-trees; and to Soderini and Davanzati the Tuscans are obliged for excellent dissertations on the best manner of cultivating their vines and fruit-trees. The same century and the following produced a multitude of treatises on music, several good performances on tactics and every particular of the art
of

of war (*f*), the first principles of which were laid down by the Italians. As to the higher sciences, how well Galileo, the academy *del Cimento*, Cassini, and several ingenious men whom the chief academies in Europe are proud to enrol among their members, have deserved of them, is well known.

In the entertaining kinds, France owed tales to Boccacio and other Italians, whose talents in this manner of writing gained universal applause: Voiture's letters, with many others, were owing to those of Annibal Caro, Aretin, and Tolomei: the burlesque kind had its rise from the imitation of Berni, and other famous writers; the ingenious criticism intituled *Guerre des Auteurs*, and *Reforme du Parnasse*, sprung from the sprightly criticisms of Boccacini, and from Herrico's piece called *delle Guerre di Parnaso*, printed in 1643. Lastly, the *Chef-d'Oeuvre d'un Inconnu* is but a flat imitation of the famous *Commento di ser Agresto sopra la ficata del Padre Ciceo* (*g*). If

(*f*) Such compositions were in no great esteem with a famous Italian: *Libri*, says he, with a warmth suitable to the subject, *che altro non hanno in se che parole, non possono insegnare i fatti ad altrui. Campi sono scuole; gli esserciti discepoli, e Parmi penne, le quali intinte nel sangue inimico, scrivono l'arte Militare in la carne. Onde bisogna rivolgere e notare si fatte cose in le guerre, e non in le camere, chi vuole imparare à vincere et a glorificarsi come buon Cavaliero e gran Duce.* Aretin, Letter 342, L. viii. i. e. "Books, as consisting merely of words, cannot teach actions. Camps are the schools, armies the scholars, weapons the pens, with which, dipped in the enemy's blood, the art of war is to be written on the flesh. It is among these, and not in a study, that he who aspires to military glory, and the reputation of a great commander, must make his remarks on transactions in war."

(*g*) M. d. Floncel, royal censor at Paris, has in his library all the best Italian productions in the several kinds above mentioned, to the amount of better than ten thousand volumes,

If we take a view of the dramatic kind, what a multitude of tragedies and comedies, written with great regularity and real beauty, do we not meet with in Italy, before any other nation had so much as thought of trying its talents this way!

Thus, on a consideration of what arts, literature, and science, owe to the Italians, the advice of Pliny the younger to his friend Maximus, who was going governor of Achaia, may be extended to every gentleman of the north on his setting out for Italy. *Cogita te peregrinum venisse in eam regionem ubi humanitas et litteræ inventæ sunt; ad homines qui jus à natura datum virtute, meritis, amicitia, foedere denique et religione tenuerunt. Reverere conditores Deos, reverere gloriam veterem et hanc ipsam senectutem quæ in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque. Habe ante oculos hanc esse terram quæ nobis miserit jura, quæ leges non victa acceperit, sed petentibus dederit. Recordare quid quæque civitas fuerit, non ut despicias quod esse desierit. Quo magis nitendum est ne rudis et incognitus, quam exploratus, probatusque, humanior, melior, peritior, fuisse videaris*.*

* Lib. viii. Epist. ult.

The E N D.

COMPARATIVE HISTORY
OF THE
ITALIAN and FRENCH MUSIC.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

WHILST I was printing the preceding OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY, &c. this ESSAY fell into my hands.

From its subject, and the manner in which it is handled, I conceived it would be no improper Appendix to the said Observations. It contains several ancient and modern facts, equally relating both to Italians and French, and to the Art of which it gives the history.

If this Essay does not prove a final decision, at least it may serve for a voucher in the controversy, which for these twelve years has been on foot between the French and the Italian music, assigning fixed points, and giving a body to a contest, which from its origin is, in most mouths and pens, only a wrangle about words.

COMPARATIVE HISTORY

OF THE

ITALIAN and FRENCH MUSIC.

THE love of song, which nature has annexed to the human organisation, was, according to the poets, what first formed societies :

Sylvestres homines, &c.

The first lisping of melody, as directed by philosophy, enthusiasm, or the passions, were the first vehicle of laws, tenets, and soft emotions (*a*).

To follow ancient music through its developments and progresses, in a nation whose heart and organs were open to every object of sensibility, does not belong to my subject: besides, nothing can be added to the several details on this head given by M. Burette. Let me only be permitted to desire, that some capable person, equally con-

(*a*) *Quis ignorat Musicam tantum jam in illis antiquis temporibus, non studii modo, verum etiam venerationis habuisse, ut iidem Musici et Vates et Sapientes judicarentur?*
Quintil. L. i, c. 10,

versant

versant with Greek and the theory of music, would, from the lights scattered in the *Memoirs* of the Academy of Inscriptions, in the didactic treatises of Greek musicians, and in the learned Meibomius's commentaries on those treatises, compose a connected history of ancient music: such a work would be highly acceptable to the scholar and the harmonist, as it may open fresh views; and though it be, partly, no more than picking from the above monuments, yet it is a picking which requires a masterly hand.

From Plutarch's Treatise, and M. Burette's comment on it, I shall produce some facts which belong to my subject, and are preparative to it.

In the country which the Greeks and their first colonies occupied, each tribe being equally enamoured with the Beautiful, and the harmony from which it results, struck out different ways in the pursuit and attainment of it. Hence that difference of dialects in pronouncing one common language, which they enriched in varying it; hence that variety in the orders, the standards of architectonic beauty; hence likewise that diversity of modes, into which musical melody was modelled.

Whether this diversity be attributed to the climate, or the different conformation of the organs; whether it be accounted the mere effect of chance, or the force of habit; it must dispose us to see, without astonishment, what is doing among us and among our neighbours. Let us therefore not be surprised, that the same taste for singing does not unite nations, of an extent far beyond the narrow limits of Greece;
nations

nations speaking different languages ; in a word, nations no less discordant in their manner of feeling, than in their way of seeing and thinking.

It is natural that each nation should impart to its singing and music the stamp of that national characteristic, which distinguishes its genius, manners, usages, and customs : it is natural, from the analogy of relations and conformities between speaking and singing, (the latter being only pronunciation more varied, and more strongly articulated) that, the speech of these nations being different, their singing should likewise be different : lastly, it is natural, that each nation, being as jealous of its music as of its language, should have an exclusive esteem for it, preserve it with like care, and oppose any too sudden and striking innovations.

Music, which for a long time had, among the Greeks, been confined to the worship of the gods, and to education, no sooner began to step out of the circle to which the primitive artists had limited it, than a general outcry was raised against the innovators. Austere Sparta banished Therpander for having added two strings to the lyre ; the Argians imposed penalties on those who should presume to go about the like attempts ; and, pursuant to the notion that music had a direct influence on the manners and the government, most of the Greek republics loudly declared against every appearance of raising it from that masculine and vigorous simplicity, to which tradition attributed its strongest impressions.

These measures failed of their effect, when
Greece,

Greece, inebriated with its prosperity (*c*), was carried away by a passion for shows. Music having got possession of the theatre, Poetry, by which it had before been ruled, became the musician's mercenary slave: words were sacrificed to sounds; energy, to extravagant modulations; the pleasure of the soul, to the astonishment of the ear; in short, Music, which till then had flowed like a gentle stream between fixed banks, gradually became a torrent without banks, and without bottom.

Plato, who was himself a great musician, strenuously opposed the torrent, but in vain; and to as little effect was he seconded by Aristotle. The disciples of those two great masters, unable to do any more than lament the depravation of the musical art, confined their endeavours in its behalf, to disquisitions on the causes and the degrees of this depravation.

The theatre sided with them. We owe to Plutarch the fragment of a comedy of Pherecrates, where *Music*, all in rags, and beaten to mummy, comes before the magistrates with a complaint, against one Menalippides, for beginning to enervate it; against Cynesias the Athenian, who had disfigured it by strained prolongations of the voice, without either expression or harmony; against Phrynicus, who, with his arbitrary strains, passages, and diminutions, had made it

(*b*) *Ut primum positis nugari Græcia bellis*

Cæpit, &c.

Hor. Ep. II. L. i.

Si disciplina civitatis laboravit, et se in delicias dedit, argumentum est luxuriæ publicæ, orationis & cantus lascivia. Senec. Ep. 94.

Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis.

quite

quite unnatural; lastly, against Timotheus, who by his mincings and hashings had reduced it to extravagant quavers. Philoxenes had escaped this censure; but that of Aristophanes fell the heavier on him, charging him with *having made music more flabby, more flexible, more rumpled than a cabbage-sprout, superseding melody with a squeaking, fit only for low-lived ears*. “All the other “comic poets,” adds Plutarch, “joined with “the general outcry.”

The revolution which occasioned it, dates its æra from Greece's fine age; from that age, when Eloquence, Poetry, and all the polite arts, had been brought to perfection, by efforts and innovations, which were justified in the consequences, gradually leading artists to the exact imitation of fair nature, whilst the fantastic efforts of the musicians threw them at a greater distance from it.

Had the general outcry caused by the latter, been the outcry of temporary jealousy, it would not have imposed on the sagacious equity of posterity; whereas Plutarch, together with most of the Greek musicians who have reached us, and who were posterior to the age in question, form as it were a perpetual concert of praise on ancient music, of threnodies on its depravation, and of complaints against the innovators.

From whence it seems to follow, that objects of taste, as music, have a point, *quod ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*; that the same love of novelty, which leads to it, hinders one from stopping at it, insensibly leading on to deviations; that
posterity

posterity is the only competent judge of the success or miscarriage of artists; in a word, that, as to arts, every age may be compared to a passenger in a boat, who often imagines he is going forward, when in reality he is losing ground.

By the light of ancient facts, and of maxims resulting from them, we shall illustrate some particulars relating to the French and Italian music.

Long before the French name made any figure in Europe, the Gauls, our ancestors, had a national music, which, like that of the Greeks, was connected with their religion and politics; and the more intimately, being performed exclusively by a class of that singular order of priests, who, having wormed themselves into the several branches of government, had insensibly got into their hands the highest prerogatives of the sovereignty. The history of the Gaulish nation throws no light on the beginning, nor consequently on the duration, of this phænomenon: all we know is, that the authority of this body, the whole force of which lay in the close union of its members, was founded on ignorance and superstition; that is, on the exclusive possession* it had assumed of literature, the sciences, and religion; on an intolerance with sword in hand; lastly, on their horrid sacrifices, as the choice of the human victims was easily made to fall on those who had presumed to give the order

* *Avara et fœneratoria Gallorum philosophia*, Val. Max. Lib. ii. c. 6.

any umbrage or offence (*k*). The Bards, a class incorporated with the Druids, were the poets and the musicians of the nation. Their labours in both kinds, being subordinate to the interest, and directed by the views of the fraternity, precluded all the improvements, to which the rivalry of artists, the desire of pleasing, the love of novelty, &c. give birth.

These poetical musicians were posted at the head of armies, and in the heat of battle sang the prowesses of the nation's demi-gods. To judge of their music from the account which the Romans have left us of this martial chanting, every circumstance in it favours of barbarism: some, comparing it to the bellowing of enraged elephants, called it *barritum* :* the emperor Julian compares it to the dismal cry of owls and screech-owls; παραπλήσια ταῖς κλαγλαῖς τῶν ταχὺ βοώντων ὀρνίθων : Marcellinus, to the noise of an agitated sea dashing against the rocks.

The conquest of the Gauls by the Romans; the

(*k*) “ The Druids,” says Dion Chrysostom; Disc. 49. “ ruled in the Gauls, where the kings, amidst all the splendor of regality, are in fact no more than the ministers and executors of the good pleasure of the priests :” ὧν ἄνευ τοῖς Βασιλευσιν οὐδὲν ἐξῆν πρᾶττειν ἢ δεῖ βεβηλευσθαι. ὥς-τε τὸ μὲν ἀληθές, ἐκείνους ἀρχεῖν, τὰς δὲ Βασιλεῖας αὐτῶν ὑπὲρτάς καὶ διακόνους γίνεσθαι τῆς γνώμης, ἐν θρόνοις χρυσοῖς καθημένους, καὶ οὐκίας μεγάλας οἰκῶντας, καὶ πολυτιμῶς εὐωχεμένους.

This passage has been overlooked by Dom Bouquet, in whose collection it should have been inserted; and likewise by Mr. Du Clos, who in his learned Memoir on the Druids lays down, as the leading fact, an aristocracy exclusive of all monarchy.

* In Antioch. Lib. ii.

downfall of Druidism, which followed it, the forced trade of the Gauls with their new masters, had but little affected their music, at least that of the northern Gauls; for, near four hundred years after that conquest, the emperor Julian, bantering with a friend of his on a composition which he was sending to him from the farthest part of Gaul, said, comparing it to those of the musical poets of this country, Ταῦτά σοι Γαλλικὴ καὶ Βάρβαρος Μῦσος προσπαίξει.

Two of Theodoric's letters,* written by Cassiodorus, among whose works they are to be read, inform us, that the Gaulish music continued still the same at the time of the conquest of the Gauls by Clovis. This prince, intending to retain musicians in his palace, *qui potestatis suæ gloriam oblectarent*, had desired Theodoric, *magno opere, magnis precibus*, to send him one of the singers belonging to his chamber-band. In the first of the above-cited letters, Theodoric orders one of his best performers to be selected, *qui cum dulci sono gentilium corda domet*; and, in the second, he acquaints Clovis with the artist's being set out.

The gravity of the Christian religion†, for a long time allowed, in public worship, only a psalmody which differed but little from common speech (*m*). After the conversion of Constantine to

* Epist. 40. et 41. Lib. ii. † Bona de Divin. Psalm. mod.

(*m*) The singing of hymns, however, we meet with in the earliest antiquity of the church. St. Paul recommends it to the Christians. Pliny certifies it to have been the custom of the primitive Christians. Clement of Alexandria has preserved one of the most ancient testimonies. The

to christianity, St. Athanasius had excluded from the church of Alexandria the chanting which was getting footing there. St. Ambrose afterwards countenanced it in the church of Milan, sanctifying, among the profane tunes of paganism, such as had solemn graces comporting with the dignity of divine worship.

This regulation, being justified by the tears which the ambrosial mode of singing drew from St. Augustine*, soon spread throughout the church. St. Gregory devoted part of the cares of his pontificate in introducing into the Roman church the singing known by the name of the *Gregorian chant*.

The Gallican church, authorised by general example, gradually adapted to public worship many of its ancient national tunes, which tradition had preserved. In the latter times of the Roman empire, the entertaining arts, with which music may unquestionably be classed,

Therapœutes, who by many learned men are placed among the first Christians, passed the nights of solemnities in singing, in two choirs, (one of men, the other of women) hymns of different measures, and different tunes, partly alternately moving the arms, the hands, and all the body, advancing, stopping, turning from the right to the left, and from the left to the right; the mixture of the men's voice with the shrill voice of the women, producing a symphony, by the measure of which that of the choirs was regulated. This was likewise the practice of Pagan Greece, in singing odes intermixed with epodes, strophes, and anti-strophes. See Philo in the *Treatise on a Contemplative Life*, published by P. Monfaucon.

* Aug. Confess. Lib. x.

being driven out of Europe by the incursions of the Barbarians, now existed only in remembrance, tradition, and a rote that could furnish nothing new to the performances which this revolution in the discipline of the church required.

Rome was the best provided ; for St. Gregory, collecting the remains of taste which Rome still retained under its ruins, and borrowing from the Greek, and the principal Latin churches, the airs which he thought most suitable to the office of the church, composed and pricked down, with his own hand, the antiphonary which on that account he called *Antiphonarium centonem*, and by which the singing of the Roman church is to this day regulated.

This antiphonary contained only the substance of the singing, and that indicated rather for recollecting than learning it. In order to settle and perpetuate this modulation, St. Gregory founded a school of singers, as a nursery for this part of the ecclesiastical office, and of which he himself was the first master.

What St. Gregory did for Rome, Claudian Mamert, brother to the bishop of Vienne, who instituted the Rogation days, had already done for part of the Gauls, at least, according to the epitaph consecrated to his memory by Sidonius Apollinaris.

PSALMORUM HIC MODULATOR ET PHONASCUS
ANTE ALTARE, GRATULANTE FRATRE,
INSTRUCTAS DOCUIT SONARE CLASSES.

History gives us no insight into the state of the Gallican singing till the eight or ninth centuries.

Abbé

Abbé Lebeuf conceives, that in that early epocha it had borrowed certain modulations from the Roman singing, which likewise had borrowed from the Gallican. But some it had of its own growth, absolutely peculiar to itself, and of which not a few are transmitted down to our times : such are the *melodies*, *trionphes*, *tropes*, or *laudes*, still sung in some French cathedrals, before the epistle, on the great festivals. In some places they are called *laudes episcopi*, and sung by regular canons, who, we may be sure, formerly shone in this part of the singing : their gratuities for this performance are paid by the bishop.

It would be quite needless to inform the reader, that the premisses relate only to plain church singing.* Music in parts, if the Romans and Greeks were at all acquainted with it, had been buried with the fine arts under the ruins of the empire. Its birth or revival, call it which you please, is of a much later date than the time we are speaking of. So early as the ninth century, the Roman singers, according to abbé Lebeuf, had taught the Gaulish singers. The multiplication of the concords, their several combinations, the organisations *in duplo*, *in triplo*, *in quadruplo*, the *faux-bourdon*, the *dechant*, and the *counter-point*, at length, after four centuries of trials, feelings, and endeavours, produced our present music. By means of the diatonic scale, invented in the twelfth century by an Italian monk, it became a particular language, independent of all national idioms, and in which harmonists could

* See Pere Kircher's *Musurgia*.

fix their ideas, revise them, communicate them to others, and transmit them to posterity.

A learned Roman prelate has proved, that the arts depending on design are indebted to the Christian religion for the preservation of their manual practice, and their revival in Europe (*n*); and if we apply the same kind of proofs to music, it would be still more easy to demonstrate that it owes all it is to that same religion.

On a retrospect to the state of it in Europe, before the ninth century, we find it established in the Roman and Gallican church, but with all the different modulations naturally arising from the different genius of the two nations, the difference of language and organs, the ancient Roman urbanity, and the prejudice of a nation, which, after the most vigorous resistance against the Roman yoke, defended its music as it had defended its liberty.

The Merovingian kings, not having Clovis's taste for music, were obliged, even for their chamber, to make use of church-singing performed by priests and clerks. Gregory of Tours* relates, that being, in 585, at king Gontran's court, that prince desired, at dinner, that the Gradual might be repeated by the deacon who had sung it at the mass in the morning; and that, being much delighted with it, he immediately caused the same psalm to be sung out, in a full chorus, by all the priests and clergy who had attended their bishop to court.

(*n*) Monsignor Francis Carrara, in his speech at the Capitol, on the 18th of September, 1758, on the distribution of the prizes given for the three arts, by the academy of St. Luke. See the *Observations*, in the article of ROME.

* Greg. Tur. Lib. viii. N. 3.

Under these kings of the first race, the popes had only a very remote influence, even in the church-affairs of the French nation; till mutual services connecting the first Carlovingian kings with the court of Rome, the popes took advantage of these connexions to extend to ecclesiastical concerns, that immediate influence which had been lately given to them in one of the most important state affairs. They endeavoured to introduce the Gregorian singing, instead of the old Gallican moods, and in this were effectually seconded by Pepin and Charlemagne, who, having been several times at Rome, were become prepossessed in favour of the Roman singing.

Towards the middle of the eighth century,* Pepin had already sent to Rome some monks to be instructed in the Gregorian chant, in St. Gregory's school, under the inspection of pope Paul I. "In 787†, on the celebration of Easter at Rome before Charlemagne, the singers of his chapel were for singing in the choir with the singers of the pope's chapel; *et ecce orta est contentio!* the French affirmed they sang the best and most correctly; the Romans, on the other hand, claimed the whole advantage to be on their side, and charged the French with being utterly ignorant of the way of hitting a note, besides their rude enunciation. The dispute being laid before the emperor, and the French making themselves sure of his protection, grew more vehement in asserting their superiority.

* Epist. Pauli ad Pepin.

† Monach. Engolism. in D. Bouquet's Coll. T. v. p. 185.

“ The Romans, proud of their profound know-
 “ ledge and their regular studies in this kind,
 “ called the French, clowns, dunces, asses (o).
 “ The monarch, having decided the contest in
 “ favour of the Romans, desired of the pope
 “ twelve choristers of his chapel, whom he distri-
 “ buted in France to teach the Roman note, or
 “ the Gregorian chant.”

Whether it was malignity, or the want of skill in them, or obstinacy in the French, these instructions, far from answering the end desired, spread in several parts of France a mode of singing, so ridiculously mottleyed, as to be neither Roman nor Gallican. On Charlemagne's complaints, Adrian II. recalled those choristers, punished their misbehaviour with imprisonment, and prevailed on the emperor to leave two of his singers at Rome, whose instruction he himself would take care of. When they were become masters of the Roman mood, he sent them back to Charlemagne, who kept one for his chapel, and sent the other to his son Drogon, bishop of Metz.

The instructions of these two men*, backed by the emperor's repeated orders, at length established the *Roman chant* in France: the French, whose

(o) *Dicebant Galli se melius cantare et pulchrius quàm Romani : Dicebant se Romani cantilenas ecclesiæ proferre, sicut docti fuerant à S. Gregorio papa ; Gallos corruptè cantare, et cantilenam sanam destruendo dilacerare. Quæ contentio ante D. regem Carolum pervenit. Galli, propter securitatem regis Caroli, valde exprobrabant cantoribus Romanis : Romani vero, propter autoritatem magnæ doctrinæ, eos stultos, rusticos, et indoctos, velut bruta animalia, affirmabant, et doctrinam suam præferebant rusticitati eorum.*

* Monach. Engolis. *suprà*.

name has since been given to this note,* expressed it tolerably well, especially at Metz, except the *diæsis*, the B flat, and the cadences, which the stiffness of their organs (*p*) turned into a kind of braying.

This ingenuous confession of a French writer, to the disadvantage of his nation, John, deacon of the church of Rome, aggravates in unseemly terms in his Life of St. Gregory :† “ These septentrional throats,” says he, “ can express only the explosions of thunder, and the roar of storms : when their rigor aims to bring itself to any agreeable modulation, instead of the cadences, the trills, and diminutions, required in such a modulation, you hear the rumble of heavy carts jolting down a rugged slope ; and thus, instead of pleasing, they deafen the ear (*q*).” National prejudice furnished the colourings of this picture. John was for revenging his nation of the reproaches cast on it by the French, that they had spoiled singing by loading

* Capitul. Carol. M. *passim*.

(*p*) *Omnes cantores didicerunt notam Romanam quam vocant Franciscam, excepto quod tremulas vel tinnulas, sive collisibiles vel secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfectè exprimere Franci, naturali voce barbarica, frangentes voces in gutture, potiùs quam exprimentes.*

† Lib. ii. c. 7.

(*q*) *Vocum suarum tonitruis altifone perstreperes, susceptæ modulationis dulcedinem propriè non resultant, quia bibuli gutturis barbara grossitas, dum inflectionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur reddere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confusè sonantia, rigidas voces jactat ; sicque audientium animos quos mulcerè debuerat, exasperando magis ac obstrependo conturbat.*

it with primnesses and puerilities (*r*); and his re-
 crimination he concludes with this reflection, sug-
 gested by the like odious principle: *Hæc retulerim
 ne indiscussam Gallorum levitatem videar præter-
 misisse.*

Amidst these endeavours for introducing the
 Gregorian chant into France, Charlemagne had
 greatly at heart the retaining some pieces of the
 Gallic singing, which tradition had preserved in
 old military songs: he was even a composer in
 this kind; and certainly no man in his whole
 kingdom more capable, if, as abbé Lebeuf affirms,
 though without quoting any authority, both the
 music and the words of *Veni Creator* are his.

Italy, in those early times, had *joculatores*, or
 poetical musicians, since known in France by the
 names of *Trouveres*, *Ministrels*, &c. Father Le
 Brun, and M. Du Clos (in his Memoir on the
 Scenic Games) have collected several articles of
 the capitularies and canons of councils held in
 France in the ninth century, against priests, ab-
 bots, and clerks, countenancing by their presence
 the buffooneries (*joca obscena, verba turpia*) of the
jongleurs (*joculatores*) or who even bore a part in
 them. Supposing these laws to have been general,
 it would follow, that the shows pointed at prevailed
 not only in France, but even in Germany, as well
 as Italy.

Charlemagne*, coming down the Alps into
 Lombardy, in 774, was met by a Lombard poet,

(*r*) *Gallorum procacitas cantum à nostratibus quibusdam Næviiis
 argumentabatur esse corruptum.*

* Apud Murat. Rer. Ital. T. i. P. 2. Lib. v. c. 10.

who

who sang to him a copy of verses which he had composed in his praise (s).

The troubles during and subsequent to the reign of Lewis the Debonnaire, the wars in which both the empire and the French sceptre were wrested from the house of Charlemagne, deprived the Muses of the necessary leisure and quiet for carrying on their labours with any success. Besides the general evils in which France and Italy became involved, the former suffered extremely from the inroads and depredations of the Normans. These calamitous times caused, in the history of the music of the two nations, a void of between two and three centuries, in which nothing relating to music shews itself, but a few endeavours of the clergy and monks for preserving the old church-music from those adulterations, which an ignorant love of novelty was introducing.

This void throws us back to the twelfth century: the cities of Italy, availing themselves of the anarchy in which the public misfortunes had left the Italians and French, set up the standard of liberty, and erecting themselves into independent states, rose by agriculture, arts, trade, a numerous population, and all the advantages of which liberty, directed by good laws, is productive, to a very flourishing degree of prosperity.

The fine arts caught the ardour of these revolutions. About the beginning of the twelfth century, Guy Aretin having opened a way for carrying music to perfection, the Italians came into it

(s) *Ad Carolum venit jocularior Lombardus, et cantiunculam à se compositam de eodem, ore rotundo in conspectu suorum cantavit.*

in crowds, whilst the French declared for the ancient method.

Abbé Lebeuf, * on the contrary, thinks that it does not appear in history, that Aretin's method met with any opposition, and that the worth of it was not perceived: but Du Cange, in the word *Nota*, quotes a passage of Letald, whom he makes cotemporary with Guy Aretin, (*qui eodem sæculo vixit*). In this passage, which is taken from the Life of St. Julian, bishop of Mans, Letald, the author of his Life, mentions the office of that same saint, the words and music of which he had composed, and concerning which he gives to understand, that he has preferred the ancient method to the new, the first essays of which were but little agreeable to French ears (*barbaram et inexperitam*). "For my part," adds the French monk, "these novelties are my aversion, their only merit "being a deviation from our ancient masters (*t*)."

Instead of taking on me to settle these clashings of authorities, I shall only mention the perplexity in which their opposition leaves me.

This perplexity would be removed, were the passage, in which John of Salisbury complains of the new music being introduced into the churches, applicable to the churches of England and France: that new music, according to his description of it, differs but little from the most laboured music of

* Tr. du Ch. Greg. p. 4.

(t) *Neque omnino alienari volumus à similitudine veteris ritus, ne barbaram et inexpertam, uti perhibetur, melodiam fingeremus; non enim mihi placet quorundam musicorum novitas, qui tantâ dissimilitudine utuntur, ut veteres sequi omnino dedignentur auctores.*

the present times ; which looks as if he had in his eye the country where this music had but recently made its appearance ; that is, Italy (u).

On this passage of John of Salisbury, the abbé grounds two assertions*. 1. That this singing, very different from the Gregorian chant, and adapted for private use, or profane assemblies, is not admitted into the church : 2. That its admission is very late.

The former little agrees with the English writer's complaints of that singing being introduced *in conspectum Domini, in ipsis penetralibus sanctuarii*. The second, for which one may rely on the abbé Lebeuf's particular knowledge in the rites and the rubrics of the churches of France, is a direct proof, that John of Salisbury in this passage meant only Italy, whither he had travelled.

From the churches it spread among the people, and soon became the soul and band of those schools and societies of the *mirthful science*, to which both the Italians and the French equally owe their language, their poetry, and their music.

(u) *Ipsium cultum religionis inest quod ante conspectum Domini, in ipsis penetralibus sanctuarii, vocis lascivientis luxu, quadam ostentatione sui, muliebribus notis, notarum articulorumque cæsuris, stupentes animulas emollire niuntur, cum precinentium et succinentium, canentium et desinentium, intercinentium, et occinentium præmolles modulationes audieris, syrenum cantus audire credas.... Ea si quidem est ascendendi descendendique facilitas, ea sectio vel geminatio notarum, et replicatio articulorum, singulorumque consolidatio : sic acuta vel acutissima, gravibus vel subgravibus temperantur, ut auribus sui judicii subtrahatur auctoritas. Cum hæc ita modum excesserint lumborum pruriginem, quam devotionem mentis poterunt citius excitare. Polierat. Lib. i. c. 6.*

* Ch. Greg. p. 72.

Provence was the nursery of these schools for both nations: the pure air of this charming country; the fire of the men, and the soft liveliness of its females; the neighbourhood of the many polite courts in South France; an hereditary taste for arts, in a house which for a long time held the sovereignty of Provence; the residence of the popes at Avignon; the love of pleasure, which affluence had fomented among the Italians; the munificent rewards which they bestowed on the instruments of their pleasures, concurred to promote a science, in which modern Italy, and afterwards France, rivalled ancient Greece. The following ages were so far convinced of the obligation they were under to Provence, as to imagine that Charlemagne, in the division of his dominions, had given up the intire property of it to the poets, jesters, minstrels, and other members of the *mirthful science*.

The learned Muratori, in his twenty-ninth dissertation on the Antiquities of Italy in the middle age, makes mention, from cotemporary monuments, of the *plenary courts* very frequently held by the princes and states of Italy, and at which there never failed to be companies of minstrels, mimes, jesters, buffoons, mountebanks, &c. Under the generical name of *Court-men* (*Uomini di corte*) these people, joining their talents, improved the merriments of the jocund seasons, which sometimes lasted a whole month. During all this time, they were handsomely boarded, and, agreeably to a custom of which some adumbrations are to be met with in Aristophanes*, Martial, and St.

* Aristoph. Comed. of the Clouds.

Augustine*, each on his dismissal had a suit of cloaths given to him; and it was nothing uncommon for the top performers of each kind to be presented with chains of silver, and even of gold, horses with rich caparisons, &c.† At the wedding of Antony De la Scala, a list was taken of above two hundred of these virtuosos, *qui singuli perceperunt indumenta valoris ad minas decem ducatorum pro quoque.*‡ That of Galeazzo Visconti drew together such a number, that the gratuities amounted to *plusquam septem millia pannorum bonorum*§. Lastly, above fifteen hundred were present at a plenary court held by the Malatestas at Rimini.

These largesses encouraged, supported, and perpetuated the pleasureable arts, which thus amply partook of the riches with which Italy at that time abounded. They had not such a good time of it in other countries, where œconomy seconded the anathemas which the church used frequently to fulminate against those profane amusements. The emperor Henry II. on his marriage with Agnes de Poitiers, sent away, without the least entertainment or reward, an infinite multitude of virtuosos, whom the confident expectation of another kind of treatment had drawn to that solemnity (x). The princes and nobility, in order to rid themselves of such expence, and at the same

* August. in Johan. Tr. 100. c. 2.

† Pulci Hist. Vicentina.

‡ Guill. Ventura Chron.

§ Chron. di Cesena.

(x) *Infinitam multitudinem Histrionum & Jocolatorum sine cibo & muneribus vacuum et merentem dimisit.* Chron. Virzburg.

time to be revenged of those fulminations which curtailed their diversions, would sometimes let loose the virtuosos on the clergy, empowering them to levy contributions for their reward; a licence which, in a council held at Ravenna,* in 1286, was condemned as *importunita abusiva*.

At this very epocha the Italians had regular plays, whilst the French knew nothing beyond farces, half burlesque and half religious, such as the *Simple Mother*, the *Ass*, with exhibitions of the Passion, and the Mysteries, and this only in holiday times, sottishly imagining, that thus acting the Saints, the Blessed Virgin, and God himself, were acts of exalted devotion: whereas, in Italy, the *Corti bandite*, or festive companies, who resorted to these festivals, of which public notice was given some time before the celebration, composed among themselves plays strictly conformable to the rules of *drama*, and animated by a judicious combination of all the several powers of Poetry, Music, and Dancing; together with ballets relative to the main action.

“The stage-players,” says an old Milanese chronicle, “used to sing the feats of Rowland and Oliver; “and these songs were intermixed with, and followed by, dances accompanied with music, “performed by buffoons and mimes in various “evolutions, equally grave and graceful.” (y)

Donison the monk, in the first book of his poem on the famous countess Matilda, has in a single line, not indeed very harmonious, summed up the

* See Father Labbeus's councils.

(y) *Cantabant Histriones de Rolando et Oliviero. Finito cantu, Bufoni et Mimi in cycharis pulsabant, Et decenti corporis motu se circumvolvebant.*

several instruments which formed the orchestras of those spectacles :

Tympana cum cytaris, flivisque (z) lyrisque sonant hæc.

Spectacles of this sort had likewise their decorations and machines, which indeed were the main part in that exhibition described in the following manner by John Villani :

“ The citizens,” says he*, “ of St. Friano’s quarter at Florence, had an old custom of giving every year an exhibition, the scheme of which was always new, and strikingly singular. In the beginning of the year 1304, that jocund body gave notice, that whoever was for knowing news from the other world (*saper novelle de l’altro mondo*) should repair, on the first of May, to the bridge which divides the city of Florence. On the day appointed, the bed of the Arno was found covered with machines, representing dens and caverns of various forms, in which, amidst fire, flames, shrieks, ejaculations, and howlings, were seen the tortures which devils, under a thousand hideous forms, were busy in inflicting on the damned ; when, lo ! in the height of the show, the bridge being then only of wood, part of it gave way under the croud !”

In those ages of darkness I have met with only one act of hostility between Italy and France,

C c

relating

(z) The word *fliva* occurs indeed in Du Cange ; but Donifon’s line is the only voucher quoted for it. Should it not rather be *pi-vis*, from *pi-va*, a very old Tuscan word, and synonymous with *cornamusa*, but indeed more suitable to poetry ?

* Lib. viii. c. 10.

relating to music; and that is, in a decree of the republic of Bologna, which Ghirardacci, in his history of that republic, places in the year 1288. That decree orders, *Ut cantores Francigenorum in plateis communis ad cantandum omnino morari non possent.*

I know of no monument, from which any sure judgment may be formed of the state of Italian music during those times: it may only be supposed, that the opportunities of distinguishing itself at the festivals and exhibitions, which were infinitely more frequent in Italy than in France; the kind reception which entertaining talents every where met with, together with the rewards bestowed on the *Coryphæi* of those arts, must of course have powerfully improved and stimulated the natural dispositions of those numerous companies, which devoted themselves to music, as their settled business.

I had made myself sure of finding some information, concerning the state and the respective claims of the Italian and the French music, in that letter of Petrarch's, where he lays before Urban V. the several reasons, which in his opinion intitled Italy and the Italians to that pontiff's preference above France and the French: whereas in this, and all the articles of mere pleasure, he seems to give the superiority to the French, but reserves the solid and essential qualities for his own countrymen: *De moribus vulgaribus*, says he, *fateor Gallos et facetos homines, et gestuum verborumque levium, qui libenter ludunt, lautè cœnant, crebrò bibunt, avidè convivantur: vera autem gravitas et realis moralitas apud Italos semper fuit.* Epist. Genil. lib. ix. ep. i.

As to the remaining monuments of French music under the same epochas, they have all passed through abbé Lebeuf's hands: the most ancient are of the eleventh century. He has seen some of the two following centuries: he has perused the old French ballad-makers; he has examined the count De Champaign's famous ballads, with Danz Gauthier's songs and lamentations; and in all these compositions, even those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he could see only "tunes with little or no melody; tunes, in which many graces were left to be supplied by the fingers; tunes, which were mere Gregorian singing, and that of the *seventh mood*, of all others the most dull and disagreeable, and at the same time the most difficult: but," adds the judicious censor, "the ears of that time probably were accustomed to them, so that those tunes seemed fine, and affected them accordingly."

It must be added, that Italy, in the composition of musical dramas, was some centuries beforehand with France; and that *those awkward groupes of pilgrims**, who opened the first theatre in Paris with representations of the Passion, brought the first notion of them from Italy.

Indeed, we find from the ancient Italian chronicles, † that such representations of the Passion and other mysteries, prevailed in Italy, so early as the thirteenth century. The grand jubilee in the following century, drawing numberless crowds of pilgrims from all parts of Europe to Rome, this put them on the design of introducing into their several countries the imita-

* Boileau.

† See Muratori.

tions of shows, which from their novelty, and their agreement with the taste of the times, could not fail of having a great run.

As to dramatic compositions in music, on subjects either taken from pagan mythology, or purely allegorical, the musical improvements of the Italians qualified them to shine in this kind, long before other nations were in any wise capable of such performances. The æra of them was from the year 1480. The first essay was exhibited by cardinal Riari, to the pope his uncle, and the whole Roman court, in an opera entitled *Pomponiano**. The Medicean family soon gave into this splendid kind, and displayed that taste and munificence, for which every branch of the fine arts was so highly indebted to it.

From Florence these representations quickly spread into all the Italian states that were able to support the great expences of decorations, dresses, and machines, which even then were a part of these performances.

John Antony Baïf, who had been brought up among these shows, during the embassy of his father (the celebrated Lazarus Baïf) at Venice, was the first who introduced the taste for them into France. He turned his house into an academy of music, which was frequented with applause both by the court and city; but this academy died with its founder. †

Amidst all the fondness of Catharine de Medicis, and the Italians in her suite, for their country exhibitions, all that the annals of French music

* Sulpitius in Epist. dedic. ad. Notas in Vitruvium.

† Papir. Masson. in Elog. Baïffiorum.

music mention of this species, is only a kind of opera, acted in 1582, at the rejoicings of the famous nuptials of the duke de Joyeuse and the princess of Vaudemont.

I had hopes of finding some insight into the state and the respective claims of both musics, towards the close of the fifteenth century, in the poem by Jean le Maire de Belges, called The Reconciliation of the Two Languages. The poet's scope in it was, *to bring about a thorough peace and agreement between two nations separated by the Alps, and still more by the difference of the climate, of manners and custom, as to action; and by accents, gestures, and pronunciation, as to speech.*

The author of this poem, which for the most part consists of triplets, after the Italian manner, places about Venus a music *loose and wanton like herself*; and the instrumental part of which was quite in a new taste; the old psalterions, dulcimers, and pipes, being thrown aside for harps and monochords.

Whether the poet meant to indicate the Italian improvements in instrumental music, or had his eye on some efforts of the French in that kind, scarcely could the latter support them, even under the reign of Francis I. though that prince was eminent for munificence to the fine arts, and his wars laid open a communication between France and Italy.

The Louvre collection of ordinances has one of Charles VI. dated the 24th of April, 1407, in favour of the science of *Minstrelism*, and its practitioners, the chief of whom was styled King. In the same collection there is even a memoir concerning a like ordinance, issued by king John, in favour of the Paris minstrels. However emi-

nent we may suppose these hands to have been, Francis I. thought fit to bring back, and to procure from Italy, several virtuosi in this kind. One of the most distinguished was Mercer Albert. (*b*) Aretin, in a letter of the 16th of June, 1538, compliments him on his excelling in an art, *di che*, says he to him, *siete lume, e vi ha fatto sí caro a sua maestá e al mondo*, i. e. “of which you are the
 “luminary, and which has so endeared you to his
 “majesty, and to the world.” He concludes with desiring him to deliver to the king a letter which he had written to him.

Whether these musicians had gone retrograde; whether (which is little probable) Henry II. and Catharine de Medicis had, on the decease of Francis I, sent them back to their own country; or whether, during their stay in France, the art had been prodigiously improved in Italy; Brantome, in his Life of Marshal Brissac, tells us, “that this nobleman,
 “who was for a long time Henry the II^d’s general
 “in Piedmont, had the best band of violins in all
 “Italy, and paid them very handsomely. The late
 “king, Henry II. and his queen, hearing great com-
 “mendations of them, asked them of the marshal,
 “to teach their band, who were good for nothing,
 “and no more than as little Scotch rebecks in com-
 “parison of them. They were immediately sent,
 “the head performers being Jacques Marie and
 “Baltazarin: the latter, coming afterwards to
 “be valet-de-chambre to the queen, was named
 “M. de Beaux-Joyeux.”

If

(*b*) He is mentioned by several poets, and acquired a handsome fortune.

If the state of music in the country deserves to come into account, I might mention, that in 1672, Lewis XIV. passing through the capital of a province nearest to Paris, that city, which now has regularly two concerts a week, could give the king no other musical entertainment than a concert in the manner of that in Scarron's comic opera, that is, of eight choir-boys, two of whom sang, two played on the top of a bass viol, and the four others were hanged to four violoncellos, under the direction of the master of the choristers. This the proprietor of the house where the king had taken up his lodgings, accounted an event fit to be transmitted to posterity in a picture; and from the very picture have I taken this description.

On the second revival of the fine arts in France, under M. Colbert's ministry, to whom it owed that of music is well known. Some zealous Frenchmen will have it, that Lully acquired his whole skill and knowledge on this side the Alps; yet for the symphonies of his first opera he could find only *sorry rebecks*, the faintness of which for a long time shackled a genius, whose sublimity and fire was not known till it met with instruments capable of keeping pace with it.

A writer, both cotemporary with that renovation, and an excellent judge, has spoken of it with equal truth and impartiality. "M. Lully," says he, "has enriched our musical representations with the most happy productions of art, knowledge, genius and experience, combined. Born in the country of fine productions, and on the other hand habituated to our ways by living long in

“ France, he has, from the disposition of his
 “ nation blended with ours, made that masterly
 “ mixture of one and the other, which pleases,
 “ which affects, which ravishes, and in a word,
 “ instead of leaving any thing in Italy for us to
 “ envy, enables us to set it copies.”

The Italians who are most able to form an estimate, have the same thoughts of Lully, and likewise of Rameau and Mondonville; nay, the standard by which they judge of their own music, is the melody which these French harmonists have hit on, and which they complain is often wanting in the productions of their modern composers.

Persevering in the contrast between them and the French, they have retained the ancient simplicity in the accompaniments, and still more strictly in their touch of the organ. Every note is distinctly heard, and the masculine gravity of their play answers to the majesty of the places, where this instrument is peculiarly admitted. It commonly executes the thorough-bass of the psalmody, and afterwards performs its part *piano*, without lengthening or setting it off with futile trills, even in those pieces where it is left to its own liberty. They who have heard, at Rome and Naples, some of the pieces which the organ plays at the *Elevation*, mention them as pieces composed and executed in that noble simplicity, which characterises and ever accompanies the Sublime.

In all other compositions, the present Italian music is a continual struggle against difficulties arising one from the other. When no more difficulties shall remain to overcome, when the glory of getting the better of them shall cease, when
 they

they shall be smoothed to all symphonists, the love of change will necessarily bring back music to simplicity; and a melody, disincumbered from the noise which drowns it, will be felt by every ear.

This revolution perhaps is not far off; all instruments are carried in Italy to a point which seems a *ne plus ultra*: but the most brilliant execution there cannot deceive the ears of eminent connoisseurs; with them, the noise which astonishes the sensitive organs, is very different from the melody which should speak to the soul.

Naples has, for a long time, been the school and seminary of the best violins; yet they question their skill till they have been tried by the renowned Tartini, so that they flock to Padua purely to court his approbation. Tartini coolly hears them; and, after very attentively listening to what they propose to execute, "That's fine," says he, or "that is very difficult; that is brilliantly executed; but," adds he, putting his finger to his breast, "*it did not reach hither (b).*"

Father Martini Vallotti of Padua, an intimate friend of Tartini, and of the same taste in music, has formed a scheme for bringing the art and artists to true principles; and it is carried on by himself, Tartini, monsignori Giustiniani, and Marcello, Venetian nobles. This scheme comprehends the book of Psalms translated into Italian verse, as literally as could be without injuring the poetry, and set to a music as simple as Lully's plainest composition. I have seen the first production of this scheme, in two volumes excellently engraved.

(b) This exactly agrees with the *Observations*. See vol. II. p. 138.

graved. This music at first sight appears to be common church-music.

Whilst the Italians are closely furling the sails of music, France spreads them all, and improves every wind to forward its course through the rocks, sands, and dangers, of a sea noted for wrecks. That which it seems to defy, would perhaps be rather advantageous than hurtful to it; as thereby it would only lose the refuse of the Italian ware-houses, of which it has hastily made up its cargo.

To speak plainly, when the revolution in Italy, of which the endeavours above mentioned seem a commencement, shall be accomplished; when Italy, excluding from music those *concetti*, which its present poets and orators are no less careful to avoid, than those of the last century were studious to affect; the French, notwithstanding their language, will be found hampered in all the bellowings, of which the Italians have rid themselves, and which France will likewise lay aside in time, either from reflection or satiety.

Of this the consequence will be, that two nations, so like one another in so many amiable qualities, will for a long time greatly differ with regard to music; that the endeavours of the French to close with the Italians may only widen the difference; and lastly, that those two nations, though running the same race, may perhaps never meet at the goal.

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